HUMAN EVENTS

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35¢

Hope to Topple Thieu Government

New Moscow-Hanoi Strategy for Viet Nam

By PAUL SCOTT

North Viet Nam's new strategy is designed to help history repeat itself in South Viet Nam.

A diplomatic-military-propaganda offensive similar to the one that led to the overthrow of the pro-American government of President Ngo Dinh Diem in 1963 is being launched by Hanoi against President Nguyen Van Thieu's government.

The 1968 objective of the new North Vietnamese campaign, as planned in Moscow and Hanoi recently, is to topple Thieu and replace his government with a coalition regime including the Communists.

This is the heart of the warning U.S. intelligence officials have prepared for President Johnson and his Viet Nam advisers.

Captured Communist documents and other intelligence data, according to these

The Communists hope that an increased propaganda campaign can bring down the government of South Viet Nam's Nguyen Van Thieu (above).

officials, reveal that the three-pronged assault against Thieu will begin early in February and be just as intensive as was the one against Diem.

They envision a massive terror campaign aimed at disrupting Saigon and other major South Vietnamese cities by demonstrations, street fighting, strikes, bombings of public facilities, and assassinations.

Already additional North Vietnamese divisions are being sent south to put new pressure on U.S. troops and keep them occupied so Viet Cong guerrillas can concentrate their assaults on the cities.

A step-up of rocket fire and mortar attacks against South Vietnamese government facilities and U.S. air and supply bases is also expected in the coming months.

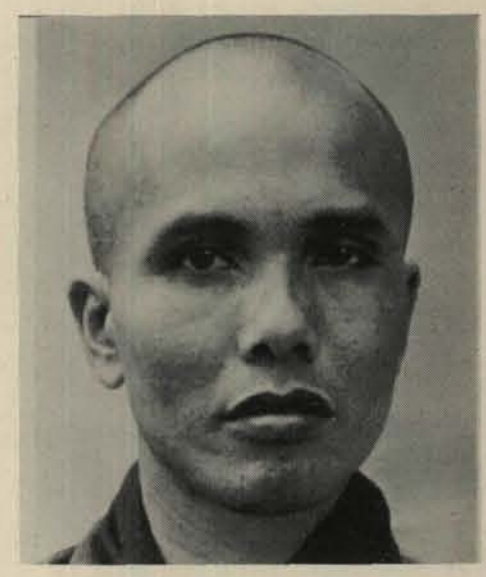
The terror campaign will be closely linked with a worldwide propaganda drive to discredit President Thieu and his newly elected government. The Communists' propaganda theme will be that peace will come to South Viet Nam once Thieu is ousted and a coalition government formed with the Viet Cong.

According to these intelligence sources, Hanoi's all-out drive to topple Thieu is also clearly indicated in the instructions being relayed to North Vietnamese diplomats throughout the world.

One diplomatic message intercepted by the CIA pointed out that the 14-point "Peace Program" sent to the United Nations last month by the National Liberation Front, the Viet Cong political arm, should be interpreted as "an all-out declaration of war against the government of President Nguyen Van Thieu."

On Dec. 20, 1960, the National Liberation Front (NLF) was founded by issuing a 14-point "Peace Program," which contained a call for the ouster of President Ngo Dinh Diem.

This anti-Diem declaration was followed by a worldwide Communist-directed campaign to discredit Diem. The propaganda effort was accompanied by violent Buddhist demonstrations in Saigon sparked by Thich Tri Quang, often labeled Hanoi's agent in South Viet Nam.



Militant Buddhist leader Thich Tri Quang, left, was instrumental in causing the internal turmoil in South Viet Nam which led to the ouster of pro-Western President Ngo Dinh Diem in 1963.

Eight days after Diem was overthrown on Nov. 1, 1963, the Central Committee of the National Liberation Front decided to ask for a cease-fire and to enter negotiations with those factions that overthrew Diem.

This decision was ratified by NFL's second congress in January 1964, but the ruling South Vietnamese military junta opposed negotiations and President Johnson supported this decision.

NFL's third congress, held in August 1967 somewhere in North Viet Nam, revised and adopted the new 14-point "Peace Program." In September NLF's Central Committee agreed on the timing of the anti-Thieu offensive.

Hanoi's propaganda offensive against President Thieu will be geared to take full advantage of the growing anti-Viet Nam war movement in the U.S.

NFL representatives in Algeria, Poland and Rumania have begun suggesting to U.S. peace group officials that once the Thieu government is toppled Viet Cong leaders would then "negotiate" with "those non-Communists in South Viet Nam who participate in the overthrow" to form a coalition government.

Significantly, these NFL representatives are saying President Johnson would have no choice but to agree to such an arrangement this time because of his involvement in the election campaign.

Once the new coalition government with the Viet Cong was formed, NLF representatives state, a request would be sent to the United Nations demanding immediate withdrawal of U.S. forces from South Viet Nam.

This new Communist strategy fits in with plans now being drafted in South Viet Nam by Thich Tri Quang, whose violent demonstrations inflamed world public opinion against Diem.

A U.S. Army report on his recent activities warned he is covertly organizing a new "Buddhist Youth Force" and plans to send them rampaging through the streets of Saigon as soon as the signal comes from Hanoi.

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YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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● Former LBJ press secretary **Bill Moyers** is reported to have told an off-the-record meeting of college journalists that he would vote for Nelson Rockefeller against his old boss.

● Reports in California persist that **Lyn Nofziger,** an influential Reagan adviser, may soon go back to the Copley newspapers. Nofziger is still in trouble with key Reagan backers for his part in leaking information to reporters suggesting possible homosexual activity among some ex-aides of the governor.

● **Arthur Goldberg**, who will be quitting his U.N. post within two months, will join the New York law firm of Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton and Garrison. Among his new partners: former White House aide Ted Sorensen.

● Conservative educator **Max Rafferty** is finding the road rough in his attempts to wrest the GOP senatorial nomination from California incumbent Sen. Thomas Kuchel. At this point, say conservatives in the state, Rafferty's campaign appears amateurish; they also note that Rafferty, in requesting support, has been rubbing a number of top conservative Republicans the wrong way. Many observers believe, however, that Rafferty, who is managing to raise large sums of money nationwide despite his difficulties, may be able to overcome some of his current problems by the June primary.

● More on **Julius Lester,** the SNCC field secretary who advocates using terror tactics against LBJ so he will be "afraid to leave the White House." Lester, it turns out, accompanied Stokely Carmichael last year to Cuba, where both received instructions on the techniques of guerrilla warfare.

● The tax-exempt Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions has written to pro-Communist **Cheddi Jagan,** the former ruler of British Guiana (now Guyana), and asked him to address the center should U.S. authorities permit Jagan into the country.

● The Michigan Crime Commission reported last week that while the Detroit riots of last summer were spontaneous in nature, "certain organized elements" joined and expanded the uprising. Recommending tough **new laws against rioting**, the commission suggested that the Detroit police force was negligent in not infiltrating the extremist groups that helped spread the insurrection.

● The Administration has dropped plans to economize in the $4.4-billion-a-year **federal highway program.** Transportation Secretary Alan Boyd suggested last October that cuts of up to 50 per cent might be made to fight inflation. But last week, Boyd disclosed that no economics would be made after all, mailing quarterly checks totalling $1.1 billion to the various state highway departments.

● New York Mayor **John Lindsay** initially declared he had dismissed his top aide James L. Marcus, who has been indicted by a federal grand jury for accepting a $16,000 kickback on an $800,000 contract to clean a city reservoir, but sharp-eyed reporters note that the Marcus letter of resignation was worded to make it appear as if his dismissal was voluntary. Marcus had also not been cleared by the investigations commissioner, Arnold Freiman, at the time of his appointment. Lindsay claims this was due to a "clerical error."

● President Nasser of Egypt has reportedly released more than a thousand **Arab Communists** from jail or detention as part of the price of increased Soviet aid to his country.

● During dedication ceremonies of the **Earl Warren Legal Center**, appropriately held at the University of California at Berkeley, chief speaker Edward Hirsch Levi, president-designate of the University of Chicago, felt impelled to claim the center was "so nobly named it should not fail in its mission."

● Absent from the dedication ceremonies: Gov. **Ronald Reagan,** who complained he was too busy preparing for the next legislative session to attend the august affair. Observers surmised, however, that Reagan may have been less than eager to honor a facility named after Earl Warren for other reasons as well. When Reagan was embroiled in a battle to get the Board of Regents to make students pay a tuition fee, Warren remarked that only twice in the last hundred years had tuition been seriously suggested, "but in both instances understanding governors rejected the idea."

● Bobby Kennedy's latest book, "To Seek a Newer World," is being offered as a gratis premium by the **Garcia y Vega Cigar Co**. To obtain a free copy of the $4.95 book, a smoker need buy only $1.25 worth of stogies. Observers in the publishing business suggest that Kennedy may be supporting the promotion.

● Bad news for taxpayers: A blue-ribbon presidential panel has called for **massive pay hikes** for top Administration officials, federal judges and members of Congress. The committee, headed by Frederick Kappel, former president of the American Telephone and Telegraph Co., recommends a raise from $43,000 to $60,000 for the vice president. Members of Congress would be hiked 50 per cent to $45,000, as would federal district judges. Supreme Court justices, who now scrape by on $39,500, would be boosted to $58,000, with the chief justice given $60,000. Cabinet members would be hiked from $35,000 to $55,000; under secretaries of departments, from $28,000 to $41,000; and assistant secretaries, now varying from $27,000 to $29,000, would be raised to $38,000.

● New Mexico State Sen. **Sterling Black,** son of Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black, is heading a drive in his state for Sen. Eugene McCarthy.

● Reporting on the progress of the New Detroit Committee, a civic organization formed after the summer riots to help improve conditions in the Detroit ghettos, Newsweek notes that one of the NDC's "problems" has been "the seeming disinterest of **Walter Reuther.**" Reuther, whose United Auto Workers are a major force in the city, joined the NDC at its inception and pledged the assistance of his union members to help clean up the riot-torn areas; the volunteers never showed up and little has been heard from Reuther since the summer. Consequently, most of the action on the NDC has come from such business leaders as Henry Ford II, Chrysler's Lyn Townsend and General Motors chief James Roche. (An interesting sidelight: When Reuther resigned from the AFL-CIO Executive Council last spring, one of his main criticisms of the federation was its lack of action on the civil rights front.)

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Socialism Comes Nearer

LBJ's announcement of Draconian measures to halt the runaway balance-of-payments deficit is looked upon by Wall Street and Capitol Hill observers as proof positive that the Johnson Administration is totally irresponsible in the matter of finances. "It's the wild spending chickens coming home to roost," in the view of one commentator.

JOHNSON

The "root cause" of the U.S. payments problems, say conservative economic experts, is the federal government's unwillingness or inability to pursue reasonable monetary and fiscal policies. The Federal Reserve has merrily been printing paper money, while Johnson and his Democratic-controlled Congress have pushed through enormous spending projects which are bankrupting the country.

The result of these reckless policies, as even the Administration should now realize, has been the flight of the U.S. dollar and a significant run on our gold.

Instead of reversing his own reckless spending program, however, Johnson has decided to stop the dollar drain by vastly restricting the freedoms of free enterprise and the average American citizen.

Like virtually all of his "self-sacrificing" proposals, Johnson's drastic remedy for the balance-of-payments problem is to be carried out at the expense of someone other than the President and his vote-seeking domestic programs.

The prime target of LBJ's solutions are prosperous American companies with overseas operations. These operations return far more to the United States in earnings than they pull out, but LBJ feels impelled to clamp controls on them anyway.

Businessmen in general are to be restricted in their foreign investments abroad; bankers are to be denied the right to lend money freely. No new investments will be permitted this year in Western Europe or South Africa. Investments in Canada, Australia, Britain and other non-European "developed" countries of the world will be limited to 65 per cent of the 1965-1966 average.

Some businessmen say that the measures are similar to the controls that were imposed on business by Nazi Germany. "If someone tries to sneak an illegal investment into France or wherever," noted the *Wall Street Journal,* "he'll face criminal prosecution and possible fines of up to $10,000." Naturally, the *Journal* adds, "a new bunch of federal policemen" will have to oversee this, working out of something called the Office of Foreign Direct Investments in the Commerce Department. Already a 200-man agency is being staffed.

Nor are American businessmen—and, in turn, the foreign countries which benefit from their dollars—the only ones to be punished for Johnson's profligacy. The Administration is also thinking of putting a head tax of between $100 and $500 on each American who journeys to Europe, perhaps even a penalty for every day a citizen is out of the country.

While the President indicated this would only affect the wealthy who can afford to travel, in actual fact the group most likely to be hit the hardest are American students, 267,000 of whom travel abroad yearly.

Also certain to feel a financial pinch if LBJ's head tax goes through are the 76,000 retired persons, 76,200 teachers and 63,400 clerks and secretaries who took out passports in 1966, the last year for which complete figures are available.

While proposing such drastic restrictions for everyone else, however, LBJ and his vice president appeared intent on evading any restrictions upon themselves. Out in Africa, Hubert Humphrey called for double or triple the amount of U.S. foreign aid, apparently on the grounds that it is all right for the federal government to invest taxpayer dollars overseas, but not private investors.

And the Chicago *Tribune* noted that LBJ wasn't exactly following his own travel prohibition proposals. After announcing how necessary it was to stay at home, said the *Tribune*, "Mr. Johnson turned around and dispatched about a dozen members of his staff to points as distant as London, Bonn and Tokyo to explain what he was doing. He did not seem to worry that these trips might be adding to the payments deficit. . . .

"President Johnson, only a couple of weeks ago, gassed up Air Force 1 and took off around the world, stopping in Australia, Thailand and Rome. The excuse was that he wanted to attend the funeral of Prime Minister Harold Holt in Melbourne. Trips around the world are not exactly cheap, but Mr. Johnson wasn't worrying about the balance of payments on this occasion. Moral: Self-sacrifice is a fine thing—for the other fellow."

THIS WEEK'S NEWS

from

INSIDE WASHINGTON

LBJ's Actions Illegal?

Will the President's proposals work? A close look at LBJ's solutions reveals a number of possible pitfalls. Among them:

• Congressional opposition to an election year request to curtail the right of Americans to journey abroad by socking them with a travel tax.

• Deliberate or natural retaliation by other countries losing U.S. dollar income. If U.S. tourists don't travel freely to Western Europe, for example, European countries will spend fewer dollars in this country.

According to the *Wall Street Journal*, the Administration also fears a paralyzing court challenge to the legality of the President's assertion of power over the investments U.S. companies make abroad. "The thought that a single injunction could halt enforcement is chilling to officials," claims the *Journal*, "and the legal powers cited by President Johnson may seem shaky grounds for action: An obscure banking act provision of 1917 and the national emergency that President Truman declared back in 1950 because of the Korean War."

Hartke's Reaction

Congressional reaction to LBJ's desperate drive to impede the rising balance-of-payments deficit has been surprisingly mild. Chairman Wilbur Mills (D.-Ark.), head of the tax-writing House Ways and Means Committee, says he'll go along with Johnson's harsh proposals. Rep. John Byrnes (R.-Wis.), the ranking Republican on Ways and Means, indicates he views LBJ's program with some sympathy.

Oddly enough, liberal Sen. Vance Hartke (D.-Ind.) has voiced the most vigorous opposition so far and offered a proposal to solve the payments problem that strikes a responsive chord among conservatives.

Said Hartke, a member of the Senate Finance Committee that would handle the President's proposals:

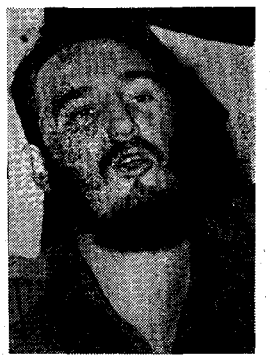
"I recommend that we cut taxes on the United States dollars earned and employed by our business and industry abroad and offer an attractive inducement for those dollars to come home.

• "More than $16 billion—one-third greater than the total United States gold reserve—has now become what is termed the 'European pool,' capital that does not return to the United States.

"Because of the interest equalization tax, which I opposed, these refugee dollars are reinvested overseas while our balance-of-payment deficit continues to mount. We could bring $2 billion home immediately, with more to come, if we would immediately reduce the tax to 26 per cent."

Castro Sparking U.S. Race War?

A leading Cuban Negro now in exile charged last week that Fidel Castro is plotting a bloody race war for the United States. Gaston Baquero, former editor of Havana's *Diaro de la Marina,* now living in Spain, was blunt:



CASTRO

"A large-scale operation of racial violence is being prepared from Havana. Hour after hour, powerful radio stations in Cuba broadcast English-language programs served up by American Negro Communists, inciting Negroes to violence.

"Agents incessantly travel back and forth. Printed propaganda material in English enters the United States without the slightest hindrance via the diplomatic pouches of the Cuban delegation to the United Nations. There is money to spare for all."

As Baquero spoke, five U.S. Negroes were on their way to Havana for an "International Cultural Congress." Representatives of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, they did not attempt to hide their sympathies.

"We are here to discuss with the other delegates the ways to communicate a message to the oppressed Negroes of America that will prepare them to resist," SNCC's Ralph Featherstone was quoted in the Cuban press.

Those LBJ Busts

Maxine Cheshire, whose lively column "Very Interesting People" provides entertaining fare in the women's section of the Washington *Post*, has gone behind the story of those little bronze-like busts of himself that LBJ so loves to give away as a cherished token of his esteem.

Miss Cheshire reports that those busts, which Johnson has been distributing for over a year, are mass-produced by the same firm that makes the museum art reproductions for Brentano's bookstores.

"Wherever he travels in the world these days," she writes in a lightly sarcastic vein, LBJ "takes along a boxed and beribboned supply, ready to be handed over as a memento of an historic event or one of those magnanimous moments when he wants to express his approval or appreciation.

"Almost every world leader who conferred with the President either here or abroad during 1967 now has one of the 8-inch Johnsonian heads standing sternly on desk, bookcase or coffee table as a reminder."

The Pope got one at the Vatican during LBJ's recent Christmas stopover in Rome. The chief executive took a supply with him to the Manila conference and now, says Miss Cheshire, the sculptured

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souvenirs have been dispensed "all over Southeast Asia." Cabinet members and White House aides got them for Christmas in 1966. Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark "came away from the White House carrying his copy one afternoon in celebration of his new job." His father, former Associate Justice Tom Clark, received his when he gave an engagement party for Lynda Bird and Chuck Robb. The bust was personally delivered by LBJ.

The head is a replica of a life-size likeness of LBJ done in both bronze and marble several years ago by Jimilu Mason. It was her idea to copy the bust in a smaller version that could be reproduced in quantities. The process is expensive and complicated and she first had to arrange with a Paris artisan, Pasquini Enzo, to reduce the original massive head and shoulders by a three-dimensional pantographic process.

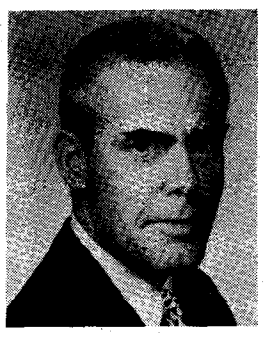
Enzo supplied both a 12-inch and an 8-inch model for U.S. mold-makers to use. The actual heads are made by Alva Museum Replicas, Inc., in New York City, the same firm which copies Etruscan vases and Ming horses for 40 of the world's finest museums.

Is the taxpayer footing the bill for these bronze-like images of LBJ? No one is willing to say. Nor is the price known. The White House won't talk; neither will Jimilu Mason. Enzo won't say what he charged the White House for his services in preparing the mold and the manufacturer's lips are sealed.

"The price tag on each individual bust can only be estimated," laments Miss Cheshire. "When labor leader David Dubinsky had similar heads of JFK produced for 3,000 of his International Ladies Garment Workers Union members for a convention several years ago, the bill was $15,000."

On Playing Goddard

Evidence continues to accumulate that Dr. James Goddard, head of the Food and Drug Administration, is suffering from a Napoleonic complex. Ever since he assumed office two years ago, Dr. Goddard has been the very model of the imperious bureaucrat. He has banned the sales of hundreds of antibiotic cough lozenges, removed anti-epilepsy drugs and many cold remedies from the market and seized drug shipments by companies which supposedly failed to meet the FDA's thoroughly vague advertising standards.



GODDARD

In 1966 the head of the American Medical Association was moved to remark: "The manner in which the agency suddenly seized drugs and accompanies this activity with alarming language tends to create an atmosphere of hysteria. It will inevitably exert a deleterious influence on the effective use of drugs by the physician."

Previous bureaucratic meddling has not been enough for Dr. Goddard. In the closing months of 1967 Dr. Goddard issued even more sweeping decrees for the drug industry.

In a precendent-setting move in October, the FDA banned six companies from marketing the antibiotic chloramphenicol, even though the FDA's assistant commissioner, Theodore Cron, acknowledged that the six companies met existing agency legal safety standards.

Apparently the only reason for the ban is that Goddard has decided that the drug made by these six firms doesn't get into the bloodstream as fast as the drug manufactured by Parke, Davis & Co. ("Alas," commented one wag, "will aspirin now be banished because it supposedly fails to rush into the bloodstream as fast as Bufferin?")

The side effect of this incredible decision is that Goddard, who's always harping about the high price of drugs, has decided to let Parke, Davis be a monopoly manufacturer of an expensive drug.

But this is not the latest weird move in Dr. Goddard's curious stewardship of the FDA. On December 30 Goddard peremptorily announced the federal government would force the withdrawal from public use of an estimated 300 drugs in the next two years. Both prescription drugs and patent medicines are involved, he said, adding that some were "family favorites."

Among 3,000 drugs now being screened by the National Research Council in Washington, Dr. Goddard told a news conference in New York, some 10 per cent would probably be removed. "Among these 3,000 drugs," he maintained, "are some family favorites, drugs that have withstood the tests of time, but which may turn out to be less than the best in the opinion of the academy's eminent evaluators."

And there's more. Just prior to expressing his desire to outlaw established, proved drugs, Goddard made a statement to the American Association for the Advancement of Science that drug stores—the easiest means of distributing drugs—are old fashioned and should be eliminated. "I would say that the corner drug store should be closed down, although I know that's a radical statement," Dr. Goddard remarked. Drugs, he contended, should be distributed through medical centers and doctors' offices instead.

In short, Dr. Goddard has assumed unto himself ruthless and dictatorial powers as head of the FDA. And just how far he intends to extend them nobody really knows.

Rocky's Sly Maneuver

Gov. Nelson Rockefeller has sent to Oregon Secretary of State Clay Myers a slyly worded letter which stoutly disclaims any presidential ambitions but which will permit Rocky's name to appear on the ballot in the Oregon primary. How did he arrange this?

Under Oregon primary law, the secretary of state is required to place the names of potential candidates on the presidential primary ballot. For a potential candidate to remove his name, he must sign a notarized affidavit with the wording: "I am not and will not become a candidate for the office of President."

When Rocky was notified by Myers that he was a potential candidate, however, he sent the following non-notarized reply back to Myers, saying: "I am not and will not be a candidate for the Republican nomination in 1968."

Thus, unless he changes his mind, Rocky will undoubtedly find his name entered into the state's presidential sweepstakes. Insiders are saying the governor secretly hopes 1968 will be a repeat of 1964 when he was able to soundly defeat Barry Goldwater in the Oregon primary.

Conservative Coalition

Despite efforts by some Republicans to give their party a more "progressive" image in the 90th Congress, *Congressional Quarterly* reports that the "conservative coalition" of Republicans and Southern Democrats "was a dominating force in Congress in 1967."

Buoyed by a shift to the GOP of 47 House seats as a result of the 1966 elections, the coalition formed on 54 of the 245 House rollcall votes and won 38 victories, or 73 per cent.

The House coalition made significant changes in the anti-poverty amendments, foreign aid bill and crime control legislation; it also heavily reduced funds for model cities, rent supplements and a host of appropriation bills. Notes the non-partisan *CQ*: "It was by far the coalition's biggest victory total since *Congressional Quarterly* began measuring the performance of the conservative coalition in 1957."

These impressive over-all statistics, however, do not tell the full story, for while the coalition was partially successful in amending legislation, it utterly failed to repeal any "Great Society" measures. Furthermore, because of liberal and "moderate" Republican votes, the coalition could not prevent old "Great Society" measures from expanding or new ones from getting on the books.

The House coalition, moreover, was undercut by the Senate. In the Senate, in fact, the Republican-Southern Democratic coalition appeared on only 56 of the 315 record votes; that compared to 70 appearances in 1966 even though there were only 235 Senate rollcall votes that year. The Senate coalition in 1967, furthermore, won only 30 votes for a 54 per cent winning average.

Some politicos are saying that the coalition would be far more effective if conservative caucuses were set up in both parties and in both the House and the Senate. Rep. John Ashbrook (R.-Ohio) has been pushing for a conservative caucus in the House; maybe now many of his fellow lawmakers will rally to the cause.

Listed below are those Senate and House lawmakers who most vigorously supported and who most vigorously opposed the coalition in the first half of the 90th Congress.

Following are those senators and congressmen who voted most in *support* of the GOP-Southern Democratic coalition during the first session of the 90th Congress, with percentages of support listed after the name:

SENATE

Southern Democrats Stennis 96, McClellan 95, Byrd (Va.) 86, Hill 82 and Holland 79. Republicans Curtis 95, Hruska 91, Fannin 89, Hickenlooper 89 and Thurmond 89. Northern Democrats Byrd (W. Va.) 71, Bible 68, Lausche 68 and Cannon 45.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Southern Democrats Lennon 100, Haley 98, Dowdy 98, Jarman 96 and Kornegay 94. Republicans Steiger (Ariz.) 98, Lipscomb 98, Gross 98, Winn 98 and Hutchinson 98. Northern Democrats Ichord 83, Hull 80, Baring 80, Randall 76 and Jones (Mo.) 63.

Following are those senators and congressmen who voted most in *opposition* to the conservative GOP-Southern Democratic coalition, with the percentage of opposing votes listed after the name:

SENATE

Southern Democrats Yarborough 73, Harris 61, Gore 54 and Fulbright 41. Republicans Case 88, Javits 75, Brooke 50, Griffin 50 and Kuchel 48. Northern Democrats Clark 89, Kennedy (Mass.) 89, Kennedy (N.Y.) 86, Mondale 86 and Hart 80.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Southern Democrats Eckhardt 94, Gonzalez 94, Perkins 83, Albert 83 and Brooks 80. Republicans Reid (N.Y.) 87, Kupferman 85, Halpern 74, Morse 72 and Whalen 70. Northern Democrats Mink 98, O'Hara (Mich.) 98, Rosenthal 98, Burton (Calif.) 96 and O'Hara (Ill.) 96.

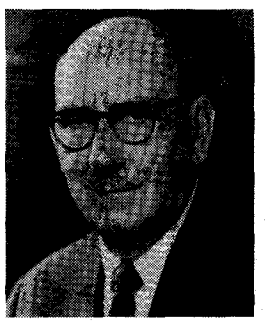
Union Shakedown

The little-known Seafarers International Union will funnel nearly $1 million into the 1968 campaign with the expressed purpose of "rewarding friends and punishing enemies."

While SIU officials claim the money represents "voluntary" contributions from the union's 80,000 members, many rank-and-filers disagree. Dissident John Cole says the SIU kitty is the result of "high-pressure shakedowns by muscular squads of collectors."

SIU President Paul Hall shoveled union funds into 150 congressional races in 1966, with the heaviest contributions going to those lawmakers on the House Merchant Marine Committee.

At least $17,000 went to Chairman Edward Garmatz (D.-Md.), and is believed to have carried him to victory in a tough Democratic primary. Not surprisingly, Garmatz has faithfully represented the SIU's interests in committee.



GARMATZ

A $4,000 check went to Rep. Jack Edwards (R.-Ala.), another member of the Merchant Marine panel. Edwards, who never even requested the money, returned it promptly. "I was astonished," he said. "I wouldn't take that much from anyone."

The *Wall Street Journal's* Jerry Landauer, who probed the SIU thoroughly, reports that Rep. Thomas Downing (D.-Va.), another Merchant Marine member, received $1,000 from SIU even though he wasn't opposed in either the primary or the general election. Six other lawmakers not opposed for re-election got $200 or $500.

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POLITICS '68

ROCKEFELLER

Signs abound that Nelson Rockefeller —despite his denials—is firmly in the 1968 presidential race:

• Rockefeller **literature**—i.e., speeches, position papers, etc.—are being mailed to newspapermen across the country, even though the material is unsolicited.

• Presumably to get more publicity, Rocky has written the lead piece for the January 1968 issue of the influential **Foreign Affairs** quarterly. Titled "Policy and the People," the article makes overtures to conservatives by espousing some of their philosophy; e.g., " . . . our generation is in the process of learning that some problems cannot be solved by legislation alone. . . . The deepest problem before America, then, is moral or psychological. . . . Decades of 'debunking' and materialism have left the young generation without adequate moral support in face of the challenges of a revolutionary age."

• Rocky's pitch to the New York State Legislature last week also took on a **conservative hue**; nor did he limit his speech, in contrast to last year, to domestic affairs. Devoting a large portion of his message to a discussion of federal spending, Rocky told the legislature:

"What the federal government does at a national level affects the economic and financial climate of the states, within which we have to operate, as well as the nation as a whole. It is essential to us as states, as well as to the nation, to reduce the gap in international trade, to reduce the federal deficit in order to restore confidence in the dollar abroad . . . and to halt the quickening pace of inflation. . . ."

The New York governor also warned that **spending** on all levels of government is getting out of hand and that "we are already close to being dangerously overcommitted. . . ."

Observers believe that Rocky, who has never in the past been known to be frugal with the taxpayers' buck, was just warming up some of his campaign oratory for the year ahead.

ROCKEFELLER

Rocky has also been doing well in the polls. Gallup reveals the New Yorker is ahead of LBJ and a recent Newsweek article estimates he'll wind up with some **350 delegate votes** on the first ballot in Miami. Somewhat surprisingly, Rockefeller is also getting indications of support from **conservative-minded Republicans** who are apparently willing to forgive his party-wrecking activities in 1964. Goldwater's running mate, **Bill Miller**, has been boosting Rocky's candidacy; and last week Rep. Melvin Laird (R.-Wis.), who headed the GOP platform committee in 1964, threw a meaty bone to Rocky by claiming he'd be the strongest candidate the GOP could field against the Democrats.

CAPSULES

• **Georgia legislators** may soon approve a measure that will make it more difficult for LBJ to win the Peach State in November. Just endorsed by the state legislature's Election Laws Study Committee is a bill that would provide the voter with a chance to vote the straight party ticket in local and state elections and for candidates of an opposing party in national elections. Political observers agree this will hurt LBJ and probably help either Wallace or the GOP presidential candidate.

• Former Vice President **Richard Nixon** is finding that a large part of the financial support is coming from conservatives and Democrats who supported Barry Goldwater against President Johnson in 1964. Hence, say politicos, Nixon is going to find it rough if he starts playing up too much to the GOP liberals.

• Iowa's three-term Democratic Gov. **Harold Hughes** looms as the winter book favorite to capture the seat of retiring Republican Sen. Bourke Hickenlooper. Hughes will oppose either State Sen. **David Stanley** or former Rep. **James Browmwell**, but neither Republican is well known throughout the state.

• Gov. **Ronald Reagan** made it clear last week that he intends to have a strong voice at the Republican National Convention in Miami Beach. After announcing the formation of a statewide committee to pick members pledged to his favorite-son candidacy, Reagan strongly suggested he would do his energetic best to hold the California delegation to his candidacy even after the first ballot for the purpose of influencing the convention outcome.

• Gov. **John McKeithen** has thrown his support behind a campaign to make LBJ the Democratic nominee for President in Louisiana. Some conservative Democrats are trying to have former Alabama Gov. George Wallace declared the state's Democratic candidate, a move that would force LBJ off the ballot or make him run as a third-party candidate. McKeithen, however, says he "shall apply pressure if it's required" to put Johnson on the ballot as the Democratic nominee.

• South Carolina Republicans are hoping to pick up the congressional seat now held by conservative Democrat **Robert T. Ashmore**, who says he will not seek re-election in 1968.

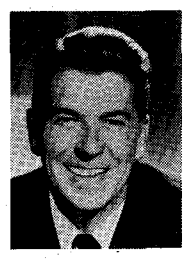
• Rep. **James Gardner** (R.-N.C.) announced his candidacy last week for governor, as predicted in these pages. Gardner, an articulate conservative, will oppose fellow conservative **John L. Stickley** in the GOP primary. While Stickley, 64, has the support of most party pros, the 34-year-old Gardner believes that he can wage a more aggressive campaign in the November election.

• **Ronald Reagan** will invade the "Eastern Establishment" next month to raise party funds in New York, Pennsylvania and Washington, D.C. Associated Press correspondent Jerry Rankin reports from Sacramento that "Reagan, already a million-dollar-plus fund raiser for the GOP, is collecting the kind of political IOUs that helped Richard Nixon and Barry Goldwater win presidential nominations."

• Michigan Gov. **George Romney** has slipped again. The Washington Post's David Broder reports from Concord, N.H., that Romney now trails Richard Nixon nearly 3 to 1 in a private sampling of **New Hampshire Republicans.** Previously Romney trailed 2 to 1. Sums up Broder: "It will take an extraordinary performance—some of his own people would say a 'miracle'—for the Michigan governor to escape a drubbing at the hands of Nixon March 12."

CALIFORNIA

Eleven prominent Republican "moderates" in California are attempting to organize a campaign to run a rival delegation to Gov. **Ronald Reagan's favorite-son candidacy**, according to the Los Angeles Times.



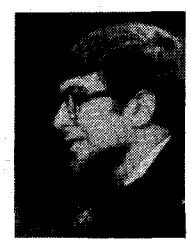
REAGAN

Sanford Weiner, who directed the successful campaign for liberal Republican Paul N. (Pete) McCloskey in San Mateo, Calif., disclosed that he had been asked to manage the anti-Reagan effort, but has refused to reveal the names of those involved.

Weiner said: "All that has been determined thus far is that there ought to be a **rival slate**. I have been asked to draw up a proposal for the campaign and a budget, which I am doing." West Coast political observers, however, think that Reagan has the situation well under control and that the "moderate revolt" will eventually collapse.

P & F PARTY

GOP politicos fear that George Wallace's American Independent party, which has now qualified for the ballot in California, will be a threat to the Republican party come November. Not much talked about outside the Golden State, however, is the threat by the **Peace and Freedom party** to the Democrats.



SCHEER

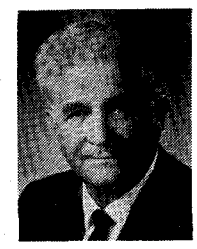
The P & F, which also claims to have qualified for the ballot, is sponsored by the **New Left crowd**, including Robert Scheer of Ramparts magazine, Irving F. Laucks of the Center for the Study of Democratic Instituions, math Prof. Stephen Smale, Barbara Garson (author of the hate-LBJ playlet, "MacBird!"), scientist Linus Pauling and other far-out types.

The P & F is also getting avid support from the **Los Angeles Free Press,** a popular underground newspaper that caters to the far left, hippies, nudists and homosexuals. (The Free Press, for example, likes to carry personal ads such as: "Male/female, gay/straight, couples, whatever you're looking for, let us match you with other modern thinking people.") Free Press Editor Art Kunkin belongs to the P & F and is wholeheartedly urging its support.

The P & F has not yet decided on whom to run for president, but they are hoping to get someone of the stature of **Martin Luther King.**

OHIO

Barring an upset, Ohio Atty. Gen. **William Saxbe** will be the Republican nominee for the Senate seat now occupied by veteran Democrat **Frank Lausche**. Saxbe's nomination became all but certain last week when Rep. **Robert Taft Jr.** announced that for "personal reasons" he would not challenge Lausche, a conservative and old family friend.



LAUSCHE

Saxbe has demonstrated wide appeal in winning **three state-wide elections** as attorney general. The 51-year-old lawyer formerly served as speaker of the Ohio House of Representatives. He is described as a conservative.

Cincinnati attorney **Sherman Unger**, who had indicated that he might seek the GOP nomination, has been unable to garner much support. Unger, who has not previously run for office, is a former associate of Richard Nixon's and served as an aide to Barry Goldwater in the 1964 campaign.

Lausche, first elected in 1954, may have a **tough fight** winning renomination. The outspoken conservative, who has frequently declined to support Democratic nominees, faces likely primary opposition from former liberal Rep. **John Gilligan**.

Coming within an inch of declaring his own candidacy, Gilligan has released a letter urging Democratic leaders to dump Lausche in the May 7 primary. A **Citizens for Gilligan** committee has already been formed, with Cleveland co-chairman Dr. Lawrence W. White launching into Lausche as a foe of federal aid to the cities.

Most Ohio observers believe that Lausche, who has the support of such Democrats as Rep. Wayne Hays, is a **narrow favorite** in both the primary and the general election. Should Lausche lose the primary, however, Saxbe would then be favored to beat Gilligan.

Sen. Eugene McCarthy (D.-Minn.) declared last week at a Washington news conference that the New Hampshire primary would be a difficult test for his candidacy but said, "No matter what happens . . . I intend to go on." McCarthy is slated to enter five other primaries as a "peace" candidate opposing President Johnson.

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A Professional Educator Should Tell 'How,' Not 'What'

By DR. MAX RAFFERTY, California Superintendent of Public Instruction

We teachers walk along a branching highway as we shepherd our clamorous charges into tomorrow. Every so often, there's a fork in the road.

Once in a while, we make the wrong choice. When we do, it's a devil of a job getting everybody back to the main turnpike again.

We were wrong 30 years ago when we bought the Gospel According to St. John Dewey and allowed ourselves to be converted to "life adjustment" education by such anointed apostles of the Revealed Truth as William Kilpatrick, George Counts and Harold Rugg.

We were wrong again in the late '50s when we tended to pooh-pooh the message beeped by Sputnik, and to insist that the only thing wrong with what we in our wisdom were doing to the kids was that no one would give us enough money to do it in a more ingrouping, ongoing and forward-looking fashion.

We're wrong today when we listen to the winsome, warbling woodnotes of the school unionizers, and permit the public to think of us as skilled labor when for at least the last 2,000 years our goal has been to project the image of a learned profession.

But we're on the farthest out, loneliest dead-end street of all when we try to set educational policy for the schools in which we work, justifying our takeover on the grounds that parents aren't interested enough in their own children to set goals for their instruction, or smart enough to know what's good for them.

Since the public school was first born on this continent, it has always been taken for granted that the electorate would lay down the objectives which the school would then try to attain, and that it would do this through the medium of its own locally elected school board members. The general public would accordingly prescribe the "what" in education; we teachers would supply the "how."

The relationship between teacher and parent was thus somewhat comparable to that between physician and patient. The patient, by telling the doctor what his symptoms are and what he wants the doctor to do for him and how much he can pay for the treatment, sets "policy." The doctor then uses his professional expertise to cure the patient, thus supplying the "how."

The "what" and the "how," then, have always been the two co-equal sides of the educational coin. But today we teachers too often are attempting to furnish both. And this just doesn't work. Not in a country like ours, anyway.

So when I hear teacher unions saying, "The school board won't pay us what we think we ought to be making, so we're going out on strike," my answer is:

"If the people in your present school district won't pay you what you think you're worth, then look around for another bunch of people who will. You have the ancient and unalienable right of every professional since mankind crawled out of caves to take your services and your talents to more appreciative customers."

And when I read statements urging teachers to apply "sanctions" against entire sovereign states which refuse for one reason or another to vote more money for public education, I'm inclined to say:

"Lay citizens in a free country are entitled to make their own decisions, and even from time to time their own mistakes. We educators can reason and argue and persuade, but nothing in our calling or its ethics gives us any right to threaten and to intimidate and to coerce. After all, we teachers ought to be able to *educate* folks into doing what's right. If we can't, who can?"

Fellow teachers, remember this:

We work for the people. They don't work for us.

And in a democratic society, the people alone decide what's best for their own children. Anything else is fascism. No matter how you slice it.

(Copyright 1968, Los Angeles Times)

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Not So Funny

From the Dallas *Morning News*

There he was, one of the most powerful men in the United States, spouting nonsense to a group of college students. The theme of Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas' address at Pace College in New York was revolution—"big, basic social revolution."

Why do we need such a revolution? "We run a great risk of becoming serfs in the new feudalism which seems to overcome us," he told the students. U.S. laws, said the justice, are biased against the poor because they "were drawn up by the establishment and not by the poor and there is a great difference between those groups."

There is even more.

"We live in a country where every person who doesn't think exactly like General Motors is likely to be called a Communist."

"Everyone in Washington assumes his telephone is tapped and throughout the country every hotel has six to 10 rooms that are wired."

The absurdity of his comments would be comical were it not for his position. Justice Douglas, now 68 years old, is one of nine men, appointed for life, who tells us what our Constitution says. He has the power to declare acts of Congress void, to write new law and to rewrite the Constitution.

His comments reinforce the position of those who maintain Supreme Court justices ought to be appointed only for a term of years.

□ □ □

STRANGE COMPANY—"There are five major nations of the world which prohibit private ownership of gold. They are, along with their percentage of the world's population: China, 23.29; India, 14.65; USSR, 7.16; United States, 6.04; Great Britain, 1.69. Does it strike you, as it does us, that this is rather strange company for the United States to keep? There is not another 'capitalist' nation represented. And it makes us wonder what Magi from these nations would carry to the stable of the inn at Nazareth."—U. S. Press Association.

One illustration of the failure of Communist economics was the obvious delight Russian women found in seeing American goods at the 1959 U.S. Pavilion in Moscow.

Free Enterprise Gives U.S. Highest Standard of Living

By RALPH de TOLEDANO

Ten per cent tax surcharge or not, inflation or not, the cost of living in the United States is substantially lower than in the other industrialized nations. This may be hard to believe when the Christmas bills come in, or when year-end statistics fill the newspapers. But it is true. Americans live better than does the rest of the world, and the price, when reckoned realistically, is lower.

The facts are there in a study made by the Institute for the Study of the USSR. This scholarly organization compared prices in the United States, the Soviet Union, France and other Western European countries. The guage used was not dollars or francs or rubles. It was the far more accurate measure: How many minutes of working time are required to purchase any given item.

The study shows that in almost every case costs are startlingly higher in France (where the government tries to run everything) and in the Soviet Union (where the government owns everything). Bureaucracy, inefficiency and government monopolies run up the tab for the purchaser, which shows that socialism is a failure no matter who is in charge.

Take, for example, the cost of electricity. In New York, which is the sample American city chosen (even though its prices are high in comparison to the rest of the United States), one privately produced kilowatt hour costs one minute of working time. In Moscow, it is four minutes; in Paris, seven minutes. Which means that a Frenchman must work seven times as long as an American and almost twice as long as a Russian to pay his light bill.

The French and the Soviet phone systems, with easily the worst service in the world, are government-owned. This is supposed to guarantee low rates. But in New York it costs 143 minutes of working time to pay the month's phone bill—and this includes 75 free calls. In Moscow, it costs 153 minutes. But in Paris, the charge (not counting what the Frenchman pays in taxes for the upkeep of an obsolete system) is 533 minutes of working time.

What about food? The best available beef in New York costs 45 minutes of working time. In Moscow it is 222 MWT. In Paris it is 337 MWT. There is, of course, a difference. The meats in Moscow's government store, as the study points out, would not be good enough to be sold by an American supermarket or a French butcher. The Moscow price is therefore exorbitant. But compare New York and Paris and you feel a little better about the weekly food bill.

The same kind of disparity applies to veal (New York: 42 MWT; Moscow: 256 MWT; Paris: 449 MWT) or bacon (New York: 52 MWT; Moscow: 300 MWT; Paris: 355 MWT).

In vegetables, New York still has the lowest prices, but the French come out ahead of the Russians. Only in the price of cabbage do the Muscovites have any advantage. Their 9 MWT compares to New York's 10 MWT and Paris' 30 MWT. In fresh fruits, the Soviet prices are pathetic.

A Muscovite must work more than 2 2/3 hours to make enough to buy a kilogram of eating apples, where a New Yorker has to put in only 7 minutes. It takes the citizen of Moscow 28 times as long as it does a New Yorker to earn the price of a lemon.

And what about travel? To fly 300 kilometers, it costs an American 385 MWT, a Muscovite 552 MWT, a Parisian 2,375 MWT. Here again accommodations must be taken into account. Air travel in France and the United States is uniformly comfortable. By Soviet standards, it is extravangantly luxurious. The seats on Soviet planes are cramped, the service is bad, and the planes, by Western standards, are primitive.

Apart from the shortage of cosmetics in the Soviet Union, the prices are not inviting. For a lipstick: New York, 24 MWT; Moscow, 133; Paris, 159. Or, in another category, toothpaste: New York, 12 MWT; Moscow, 28 MWT; Paris, 42 MWT. Cigarettes: New York, 10 MWT; Moscow, 16 MWT (and hardly worth it); Paris, 25 MWT (under a French government monopoly).

There is no mystique behind these disparities in the amount of effort that Americans, Frenchmen and Russians have to expend for necessities or luxuries. Free enterprise, and the productivity it inspires, is the answer. This is something to remember when government-ownership propagandists sound off.

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Humphrey to Take on McCarthy in Wisconsin

By ROBERT S. ALLEN

Sen. Eugene McCarthy is headed for a rugged surprise in Wisconsin's April 2 presidential primary—one of the six in which he has so far announced he will run.

Vice President Hubert Humphrey will directly take on his fellow Minnesotan as the hand-picked stand-in for President Johnson.

With Humphrey's eager acquiescence, this dramatic head-on clash between the two long-time personal rivals has been definitely decided on in inner White House political councils.

Intent of this spectacular strategy is to make this Midwest primary a clearcut test of the Administration's Viet Nam policy.

It will also be a torrid culmination of the long-smoldering rivalry between two former Senate colleagues who, while fervent liberals, have consistently sought to outdo each other in gaining national prominence. Until McCarthy's recent sudden eruption as the "Vietnik" standard-bearer opposing President Johnson's renomination, he had been largely overshadowed by his more dynamic and rhetorical fellow Minnesotan.

In 1964 McCarthy made no secret of his ardent desire to be Johnson's running mate. At one point he believed he had the nod. But it was Humphrey who emerged with the prize.

The Wisconsin melee may not exactly be a grudge fight, but it will have all the trappings of one.

Under the tentative backstage plan, Humphrey will directly challenge McCarthy as stand-in for the President. Humphrey will campaign as the President's duly annointed and proclaimed personal representative. Details are still being worked out, but it is certain there will be a full slate of convention delegates pledged to Johnson and Humphrey.

It is anticipated McCarthy will have a similar slate committed to him.

McCarthy and his campaign managers rate Wisconsin and California as the two states he has the best chance to carry—of the five presidential primaries he says he will tackle. However, it's no secret that if he comes a cropper in Wisconsin and Massachusetts (April 30), that will be it. It's unlikely he will run any further.

In Wisconsin McCarthy is counting on two areas to give him the edge: The 10th Congressional District which borders on his home state, Minnesota; and Dane County, in south central Wisconsin, with populous Madison, site of the state capital and state university —where anti-Viet Nam sentiment is stridently vocal among faculty members and students.

Vice President Humphrey and his lieutenants are unimpressed by this theorizing. Reason for their skepticism is that in 1960, when President Kennedy and Humphrey slugged it out for the Wisconsin delegation, Humphrey carried these two areas McCarthy believes give him an edge.

But while Humphrey won in the two areas, Kennedy swept the rest of the state and captured the Badger delegation.

Humphrey's anti-McCarthy campaigning will not be limited to Wisconsin. Under White House plans he will actively electioneer in every primary in which an opposition delegation is entered. In these counter-attacks Humphrey will nominally participate at

Vice President Hubert Humphrey will carry the flag for LBJ in the crucial Wisconsin primary.

the request of local Democratic leaders and operate in close coordination with them.

One of the immediate principal jobs of Charles Murphy, who quit as Civil Aeronautics Board chairman to move over to the White House as "political consultant," will be to organize and direct this aggressive nationwide offensive.

Later in the great election battle in the fall, Murphy is slated to be the President's personal campaign manager.

★ ★ ★

Retired Lt. Gen. James Gavin, vigorous Viet Nam critic with admitted presidential aspirations, is reportedly dropping hints of willingness to join forces with Sen. McCarthy. That's the inside word among supporters of both men. Whether Gavin has in mind being the Minnesotan's running mate is not indicated. McCarthyites are trying to persuade the one-time paratroop commander to declare for McCarthy in the Massachusetts presidential primary.

Choice of Blair Clark, network official, as McCarthy's campaign manager came after prominent and far more experienced Democrats declined. Among them were Edward Day, former postmaster general, and Frederick Dutton, California attorney, a one-time assistant secretary of state. Dutton's name was suggested to McCarthy by Sen. Robert Kennedy. He also recommended Pierre Salinger, ex-White House press secretary, but McCarthy brushed that off.

McCarthy also had to do some shopping before he got a press assistant. Among those who turned him down was Peter Barnes, member of the Washington bureau of a weekly magazine, who pointed out he lacked experience and know-how.

The State Department's protocol chief, James Symington, son of the Missouri senator, is seriously considering running for Congress in the 2nd district of the state. He is being strongly urged to do so by local Democratic leaders.

Another possible candidate is OEO Director Sargent Shriver. He is ready and willing to try for the Senate or Illinois governorship. But so far he hasn't won the nod for either race from Chicago's politically powerful Mayor Richard Daley. Without his blessing, Shriver could get nowhere in seeking the Democratic nomination. It's an open secret the wealthy Kennedy brother-in-law is eager to quit the strife-torn anti-poverty program and try his luck with the electorate.

★ ★ ★

Secretary of State Dean Rusk is becoming increasingly restive.

He wants out for personal reasons, but President Johnson is tenaciously pleading with him to stay until after the November election.

Whether Rusk can or will remains to be seen. Reason is he is steadily going deeper into debt. There are no differences or strains between him and the President. Their relations are smooth and harmonious. There is a real bond of personal esteem and respect between them.

But Rusk is actually living on borrowed money. He makes no bones about that in talking to close friends. He told one recently:

"My relations with the President couldn't be better. I admire and respect him, and I have every reason to believe he feels the same toward me. But I am reaching the point where I just can't afford to stay in the Cabinet any longer. Much as I want to carry on, I am confronted with sheer urgent economic necessity.

"I'm not only broke, but I've already gone into debt some $5,000, and as long as I remain, there is no end in sight. It all gets down to one stark fact. I simply cannot afford to continue as secretary of state much longer."

Later, in relating this conversation, the friend was asked what he thought Rusk would do.

"There is no question he sincerely wants to quit," was the reply, "but I doubt if Johnson will let him. Not on top of McNamara's departure. The President will find some way to induce Rusk to remain until after the election, anyway."

★ ★ ★

The so-called "McNamara Line," consisting of heavy bunkers, fortified positions and observation posts, mine fields and various other obstacles, and electrified detection devices, running the length of the demilitarized zone along the border between North and South Viet Nam, is rapidly being constructed and will be completed by early spring. The work is being done by Marines, Seabees and South Vietnamese troops and laborers, often under fire and always under severe weather conditions.

Gen. Westmoreland, U.S. commander in Viet Nam, will be named Army chief of staff to replace Gen. Harold Johnson when his term expires in July. Westmoreland will be succeeded in Viet Nam by Gen. Creighton Abrams, who commanded a tank battalion of the famed 4th Armored Division under Gen. Patton in Europe in World War II.

Gen. Earle Wheeler, head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, will take over command of NATO when Gen. Lyman Lemnitzer departs in July. Wheeler's place as chairman of the Joint Chiefs will be filled by Adm. Thomas Moorrer, recently named chief of naval operations.

Soon after the New Year, President Johnson will announce a 10 per cent across-the-board cut in all defense spending except for the Viet Nam war.

Turkey and Iraq have signed a five-year agreement under which Turkey will buy 175,000 tons of Iraqi oil products in the first year.

Richard Hatcher, first Negro mayor of Gary, Ind., will marry soon after he takes office. Although Hatcher is secretive about this, it's well known around city hall.

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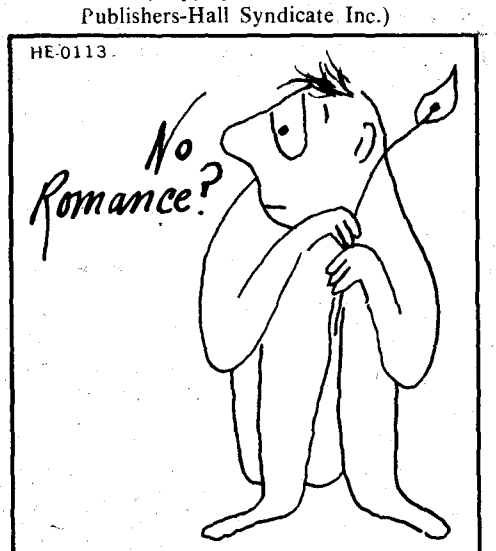

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Sihanouk Accommodates Big Power Realities

By GEN. THOMAS A. LANE

The American people are the victims of an elaborate deception about the situation in Cambodia. Prince Sihanouk has been pictured as a volatile and unpredictable chief of state when he is in fact one of the most astute and competent of national leaders. The misrepresentation conceals the real course of U.S. foreign policy.

Prior to November 1963, Cambodia had an American military mission training its armed forces. It then appeared that the commitment of the United States to protect the free countries of Southeast Asia from Communist aggression would be honored.

On Nov. 1, 1963, President Diem of South Viet Nam, who had been reelected to office in 1961 with an overwhelming 87 per cent of the popular vote, was overthrown by a military coup. On November 2, Diem and his brother Nhu were murdered.

Prince Sihanouk recognized that the coup could have been executed only with U.S. approval. He saw that the removal of Diem was an American design to neutralize South Viet Nam and to withdraw U.S. forces from the country. He realized that he would have no American support when Communist pressures against Cambodia were mounted.

The only prudent action for the prince in these circumstances was to denounce the United States, expel its military mission and go to Peking to make his peace with Mao. That is what he did.

This was surrender. But what else can a small country do when it is threatened by Communist aggression and it can get no support from the free world?

There was a price for the retention of Cambodia's nominal independence. It must provide access and support for Communist forces attacking South Viet Nam and Thailand. What else could Sihanouk do but agree?

According to international law, Cambodia was obligated to disarm and intern the North Viet Nam forces operating against South Viet Nam from Cambodian bases. Obviously, Cambodia could not do that. So the prince just pretended the North Viet Nam forces were not there.

When Cambodia failed to disarm and intern the North Viet Nam forces operating from its territory, South Viet Nam acquired the right in international law to enter Cambodia to destroy those forces and their bases. The United States forbade South Viet Nam to exercise this right of self-defense because it feared such action would expand the war. Thereupon the United States joined Sihanouk in the pretense that there were no North Viet Nam forces in Cambodia.

Our American public information media, with some notable exceptions like this newspaper, have been so committed to the thesis that hot pursuit would expand the war that they have sustained the deception. Some are suggesting even now that hot pursuit would violate Cambodia's neutrality. It wouldn't, because Cambodia has sacrificed its neutrality by harboring the North Viet Nam forces.

Prince Sihanouk has been a prudent national leader. He has done what was necessary to protect his people. But what will he do if the United States now allows South Viet Nam to exercise its rights of hot pursuit?

That depends upon the United States. If President Johnson really intends to secure Thailand and South Viet Nam and will at the same time protect Cambodia from Communist attack, the prince will graciously bow to the new order. But if the President is merely making a grandstand play in an election year and will abandon Southeast Asia when he can negotiate a face-saving withdrawal, Prince Sihanouk must keep his Communist fences mended. He must oppose South Viet Nam and protect his Communist guests.

When the Johnson Administration now acknowledges illegal North Viet Nam military activity in Laos and Cambodia which it has covered up for four years, there is an implication of new policy brewing. The shape of that policy will be revealed in the responses which Prince Sihanouk makes to it.

Gen. Lane notes that Cambodia's Prince Sihanouk (above) has sacrificed his country's neutrality by helping the North Vietnamese.

Communism in Liberal Raiment

By FRED DeARMOND

A great tonnage of words pro and con on the Viet Nam war has fairly deluged American readers and listeners. The real issue behind all the tumult and shouting is still obscured.

A minority of the objectors are pacifists and misguided anti-war idealists blissfully unaware of or totally ignoring the true question involved. Their number is inconsiderable in relation to the mass of public opinion. Actually, they are mere cat's-paws in the controversy.

The great majority of those who so self-righteously denounce our participation in the war are motivated by sympathy with the Communists. This sympathy is either conscious or unconscious. The conscious sympathizers are the undercover Communists and the extreme-left agitators who manipulate the anti-war demonstrations. They know exactly what they are doing; their purpose is plainly revolutionary and they see the Viet Nam conflict as a long-sought opportunity to divide and weaken our national spirit.

Then there is the great body of their followers, the "liberal" reform element who go for anything labeled "humanitarian" or "progressive." They know nothing of the essence of communism or the dedication and subtlety of its adherents. These groups are the key factors in the present great debate.

Gen. Westmoreland and others, both civil and military, have pointed out that the chief hope of the Communists and the principal danger to freedom is that we may lose the war because of losing the will to win on the home front. That means the pressing danger is in the mass of articulate "liberals" who are unconsciously allying themselves with our enemy. These Americans have been taken in by Communist propaganda clothing itself in the deceptive raiment of liberalism.

The thing that makes this sentiment dangerous in gross disproportion to the number of Americans who embrace it is that it is shared by many of the Administration leaders. They sense a conflict between national security and security for the party in power, through a necessary curtailment of the runaway welfare program perpetrated by the 89th Congress.

The turn taken by current liberal philosophy is at the very core of the argument between the hawks and the doves. It has always been the nature of people to divide politically along the lines of conservatism and radicalism. One side wishes to hold fast to the lessons of the past, and the other pins its hopes on innovation. Historically, the two philosophies have made for the betterment of mankind by maintaining on the whole a balance between the two positions. Presently, the advocates of change are heavily tipping the teeterboard to their side.

Inevitably, the conservatives are the most outspoken enemy of any revolutionary movement such as Jacobinism or communism, and this inspires among the innovators an involuntary sympathy toward policies that are conspicuously under fire from their traditional adversaries.

Two prominent academic liberals, Professors David Riesman and Michael Maccaby, have posed the difficulty in this confession: "As the Cold War continues, it becomes increasingly difficult for decent Americans, humane enough to prefer peace to an egocentric national honor, to be outspokenly anti-Communist." (*American Strategy for the Nuclear Age,* Doubleday Anchor Books.)

It is, then, painfully difficult for "liberals" to keep their emotions and prejudices from clouding their judgment on ideological questions. Communism in its various fronts is accorded a subdued sympathy by many non-revolutionary citizens who are repelled by the idea of making common cause with people they regard as "reactionaries." With them, the politics of reform takes precedence over the main change-the-world issue. And so we find many of them thinking, if not openly saying, "Communism can't be so bad if all those So-and-So's are against it."

This feeling is behind the frequently voiced view among sophisticates that "The Communist danger is badly overrated." Herein are the seeds of defeat by a united foe. It oppresses the nation with disunity on the most important question it has confronted since Secession. The fact is overlooked that nowhere in the history of mankind is there a parallel to the Communist revolutionary passion that now dominates more than 800 million people and presses forward eagerly to convert neutral peoples.

Whittaker Chambers saw this phenomenon of liberalism and analyzed it superbly in his *Witness:*

"The simple fact is that when I took up my little sling and aimed it at communism, I also hit something else. What I hit was the forces of that great Socialist revolution, which in the name of liberalism, spasmodically, incompletely, somewhat formlessly, but always in the same direction has been inching its ice cap over the nation for two decades (now more than three decades).

"This is not a charge. It is a statement of fact that need startle no one who has voted for that revolution in whole or in part, and consciously or unconsciously a majority of the nation has so voted for years. It was the force of that revolution that I struck at the point of its struggle for power.

"And with that we come to the heart of the Hiss case and all its strange manifestations. Though I knew it existed, I still had no idea of its extent, the depth of its penetration, or the fierce vindictiveness of its revolutionary temper, which is a reflex of its struggle to keep and advance its political power.

Time explained the perverse attitude

Continued on page 14

Mr. DeArmond, a former associate editor of Nation's Business, *is now a free-lance writer whose articles have appeared in such publications as* The Freeman *as well as* Human Events.

South Korean troops fire a recoilless rifle in action against Viet Cong guerrillas. The granting of sanctuary by Cambodia to those guerrillas has become a major issue in the war.

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LBJ Warned About Plans for New Summer Riots

Conspiracy, appearance of Cuban money discussed confidentially by panel members

By VICTOR RIESEL

Confidential word has been passed on to President Johnson not to commit himself to the theory that there has been no plot to whip up bloody, flame-filled riots in some 70 major cities during the past three years.

This message, which came from several knowledgeable members of the President's 11-man Commission on Civil Disorders, also warned of a conspiracy to stir street action in June and make this coming summer the longest and hottest of all.

All this will not be found in the commission's formal report, which it expects to release in mid-February after a series of windup meetings January 9 to 11 in the still nameless new executive office building a block from the White House. But the private warning nonetheless is grim, and flatly contradicts the FBI's finding that there was no conspiracy behind the riots.

The White House was told that some commission members believe that considerable money has passed from Castro's coffers in Havana to tiny direct-action cells in scores of cities.

At the inner gut of the loose melange of riot-inciting cells, it was said, is a network of small Peking-oriented "parties" and "movements."

Great effort has been made by the commission members, in sharp, clear and concise language, to point out that scores of riots burst out spontaneously and were exploited by the direct actionists—and that the vast bulk of the Negro communities abhor them as much as the white population.

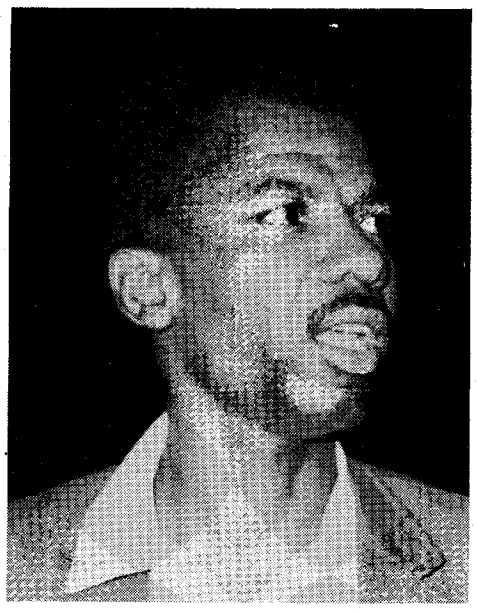
David Ginsberg, left, executive director of the President's Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, and Theodore Jones, the staff director, meet with newsmen during a recent press conference. Some commission members are said to be trying to disabuse LBJ of the notion that there was no conspiracy involved in the recent rioting.

In its final and formal report to the President, the commission will reinforce the theory that only the immediate employment of at least 500,000 young Negroes can prevent further endemic and spontaneous disturbances throughout the land during the next few summers.

The commission especially will point to three cities—Detroit, Newark and Cincinnati, in that order—as urban concentrations which need immediate help.

The commission bases this on the personal survey of eight cities by its members who went in groups of five or more, including I.W. Abel, president of the United Steel Workers, as labor's representative. Some 23 cities were examined in depth by survey teams selected from some 30 staff members.

While they hit hard at the sociological roots of the riots, they found much the same grim economic causes, organized provocation and exploitation of "incidents" and riots as did the investigators dispatched by Sen. McClellan's Permanent Investigative Subcommittee of the Committee on Government Operations.



William Epton, leader of the Progressive Labor party, has been travelling around pushing the party's cause.

There is ample, awesome evidence of tiny groups plotting to kill police en masse in Philadelphia and New York. There is evidence of arms stockpiling, manuals for improvising arms and assembly-line production of Molotov cocktails.

There is documentation of conspiracies by wild neo-leftists who consider even the American Communist party "bourgeois," revisionist and part of the status quo.

In all there are some 500 to 600 tiny cells in scores of cities ranging from New York to Los Angeles' Watts. For the most part they are not linked to a national organization. "They float in the murky slums like loose political meteors seeking some strong gravitational pull from a strong leader to mass them together," according to one of McClellan's aides.

And there are those who try to weld them into one movement. Some are like the Revolutionary Action Movement, active in New York, Philadelphia, Detroit and Cincinnati, but not much farther west. It is strictly Peking-oriented. There are the Black Guard organization, and the "Communist Party, U.S.A., Marxist-Leninist," a Maoist operation which splintered from the traditional Moscow-line U.S. Communist party.

Most active and most successful is the apparently well-financed Progressive Labor party. It does not lack for publications; it has a newspaper and a thick magazine.

Its leader, William Epton, is making the rounds of universities and even some churches. He has been observed in upstate New York. His colleagues, according to unimpeachable observers, are active in the big Boston think center where they have infiltrated New Left campus organizations.

The Progressive Labor party is Maoist. Its leaders are the original direct actionists of this era. If any force has a chance to coalesce the swirling cells, the PLP is it.

They are all difficult to fight unless the younger Negro finds job openings. This is the great concern of such moderates as the NAACP's Roy Wilkins and the Urban League's Whitney Young.

They have been pounding at some unions in the big labor federation to open their ranks and have been cooperating with such corporations as the Ford Motor Co. and General Electric in special and unpublicized projects to train the Negro youngsters.

But it's a tough—and rough—race against the kind of guerrilla movement this nation has never seen before. It takes only a handful of rumor-mongers, fire bomb throwers, rooftop rifle squads and mimeograph operators to turn an incident into a riot which runs in shifts.

Then the black and white communities are alienated from each other and reconciliation must start all over again amid the charred buildings and rubble-strewn streets.

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Some Predictions for '68

By EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

What can we expect in 1968?

Once a year this news analyst sticks his neck out concerning coming events in the international field. Of his 20 predictions for 1966, 11 came true. In 1967 his record was 11 correct and three half-correct guesses out of 20.

Here goes for 1968:

1. Before the November election President Johnson will open negotiations with Hanoi and the Viet Cong.

2. To achieve these he will sanction hot military pursuit across the border of Laos, thus closing the Ho Chi Minh trail, and permit the bombing of the Red River dykes in North Viet Nam.

3. Unless peace is notably closer, the American people will, in November, elect a Republican President and House of Representatives.

4. To help in the re-election of a Democrat as U.S. President, the Kremlin will shortly before the election announce what looks like its acceptance of a nuclear non-proliferation draft treaty only to explain later that it has been "misunderstood."

5. U.S. pressure for a non-proliferation treaty will further strengthen German nationalism, deepen the West Germans' distrust of Washington and increase their demand for a direct agreement on reunification with the Soviet Union.

6. Cooperation with Russia, such as training Soviet parachutists in French schools, will further strengthen communism in France.

7. As a foil to the Franco-German treaty, Italy will seek a special relationship with Britain.

8. At least one East European people will revolt against its Communist regime.

9. Communist-inspired friction between Greeks and Turks on Cyprus will cause a new crisis between Athens and Ankara.

10. Jan. 1, 1969, will find the Israelis still in their present positions.

11. Soviet influence and power over the rest of the Middle East will grow.

12. Soviet troops will save the so-called Republic of Yemen from being overthrown by the royalist forces of the Emir.

13. The Moslems of the north will reunite Nigeria by force of arms.

14. The United States will take a more friendly attitude to Rhodesia and to South Africa.

15. Somalian rebels and infiltrators will make another attempt to seize the French port of Djibuti.

16. Communism will lose ground in most of Latin America while gaining in Chile.

17. Hunger and communism will grow in India.

18. The Cold Civil War in China will spark an anti-Communist revolt in several areas, thus offering Chiang Kai-shek a last opportunity to liberate his oppressed countrymen.

19. Because of the nuclear threat from Red China, the Japanese government will appeal to the United States for an anti-missile missile defense system.

20. The United States and other members of the present gold pool will agree to increase the price they pay for gold, thus tacitly accepting a devaluation of their respective currencies.

Here then is what the tea leaves tell me for 1968. Why not cut this out and check up on your columnist 12 months from now?

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STANDARD EQUIPMENT—"Shoulder belts, compulsory under federal standards, will raise new car prices next year. The difference will show up on the price sticker on the window. The sticker won't itemize the wage boosts granted the United Auto Workers. That difference will appear in the total figure at the bottom."—From the Omaha *Evening World-Herald*

□ □ □

FRAMED TAXPAYERS—"A man recently wrote to a New York newspaper that he had framed the first dollar he earned. He says the frame cost him 10 cents. Now the frame is worth $1 and the dollar is worth 10 cents. It's all too true. With higher and higher taxes it looks like the taxpayers of the nation have been framed, too."—From the Indianapolis *Star*

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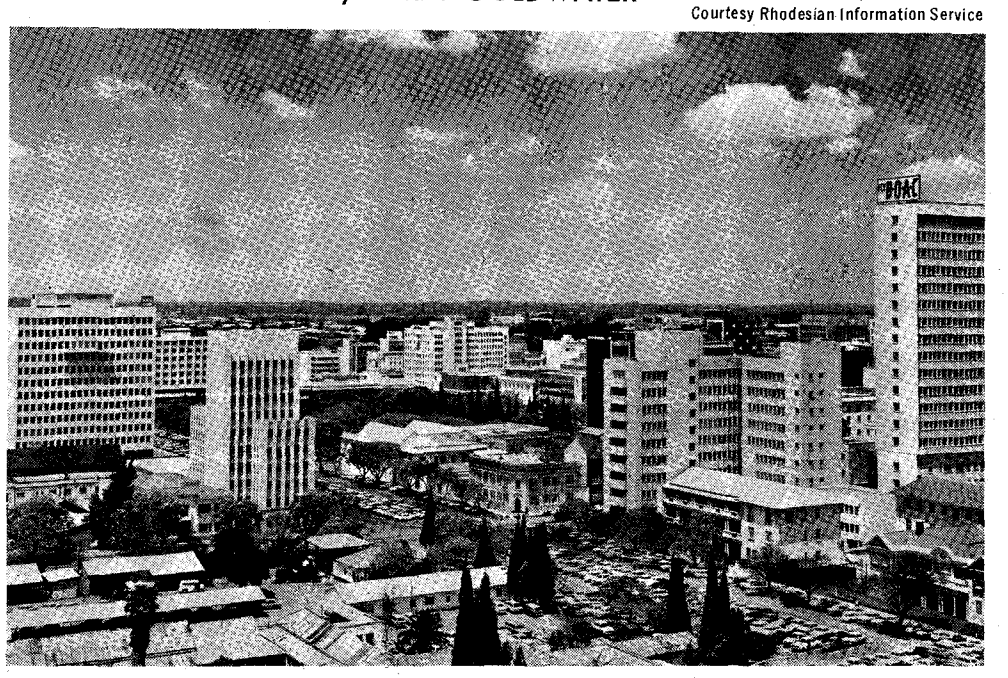
On-the-Spot Report

'Rhodesians Are Worthy of Our Support, Not Our Enmity'

By BARRY GOLDWATER

Courtesy Rhodesian Information Service



Above, a general view of Salisbury, Rhodesia. Former Sen. Goldwater, in discussing his trip to Rhodesia, decries the hypocrisy with which the United States has handled the whole situation.

Salisbury, Rhodesia:—First, let me try to set aside, if it is humanly possible, what has come to be a sort of moral geography. When a man visits any area behind the Iron Curtain, the press usually waits for him to say something before automatically judging him to be either pro- or anti-Communist. They even give him the courtesy of assuming he might be something else—like an ordinary tourist.

When it comes to South Africa and, most lately and particularly, Rhodesia, no such standard of courtesy or objectivity is observed. A traveler, particularly a politician, is immediately branded pro- or anti-Negro, depending on whether he includes this area in his itinerary.

Let me get some points straight on that score. First, my trip to this part of the world is simply the satisfaction of a long desire to come here, meet the people, photograph the wonderful scenery and wild life—possibly even to the end of doing another photo-book.

Second, I am neither pro- or anti-Negro. I have conducted my entire political life on a basis of color blindness. I do not feel that a man should be judged in any sense because of his color; that he should be either penalized or advantaged for it.

There is about Rhodesia, however, an entire area of political consideration that cries for comment and which is far and apart from the racial hysteria that impels so many commentators these days.

As an American—and, I might add, an American politician—I would like to voice my feelings on this matter.

I was dumbfounded when my country went along with the U.N. position of boycotting Rhodesia. I disagreed when it happened. Being here in Rhodesia, I disagree with it more profoundly than ever.

The boycott cannot be rationally or morally sanctioned so far as I can see. If moral, we would have to apply similar sanctions to such nations as the Soviet Union which practice barbarisms far beyond even the wildest accusations against Rhodesia. If rational, we would have to rewrite history.

We have never sought to be a colonial power. We have returned to their inhabitants all the lands which we have acquired in wars (except, of course, for the homeland territories acquired in the American Revolution and in the Mexican wars). We have always sought to encourage those who want to free themselves from colonial status.

And yet, fantastically, we now have a situation in which we, the greatest power on earth, are throwing our weight against a small nation that has done nothing else to deserve that assault than to proclaim its desire for independence, just as we once proclaimed ours.

In the same era, for instance, that we turned the Philippines back to the people there and while promising the Japanese a return of the Ryukyus, we did a 180-degree turn and went along with the attempt to prevent Rhodesia, a well-developed, self-sufficient nation from breaking its ties with the British. Surely Rhodesia, with only 7 per cent of the African land area, but producing 25 per cent of its gross national product, has proved itself as well fitted for independence as any of the other nations whose rush for independence we so eagerly backed.

The question cannot be shrugged off as being simply our righteous feeling that there are more white people than black people in the government of Rhodesia. If it is color that troubles us, we ought to be ashamed to lecture Rhodesia. We have had a dismal record on this score for 200 years. It has taken us that long just to begin to drop racism. Even so, many Americans now are simply substituting a new reverse racism for the old.

On what sensible basis can we pretend to say that Rhodesia cannot work out its racial problems, at least as well as we have, if left alone—as we were left alone? How can we so pompously say that unless Rhodesia remains a part of Great Britain it cannot work out its problems? After all, Great Britain has a few problems of that sort, also.

I think that the United States is indefensibly wrong in its support of the boycott against Rhodesia. It is wrong on the basis of principle. It is wrong on the basis of plain common sense.

It is trade with such nations as Rhodesia, as with the friendly lands of Latin America, upon which much of the civility of world peace is going to depend.

To single out a good and friendly nation and people, such as Rhodesia and the Rhodesians, for politically inspired punishment or to pay off some political deal is to fly in the very face of the future of freedom.

Rhodesians, all of them, regardless of race, creed or color, are worthy of our support and not our enmity. I call them friend. I wish my government would do the same.

(Copyright 1968, Los Angeles Times)

Do Social Scientists Know the Constitution?

By HOLMES ALEXANDER

They let a lot of ignorant people loose around town in the holidays, and that happened when a convention of social scientists recently showed up.

I was pretty sure these savants hadn't learned anything about the United States for a half-century or more. I was convinced of it by an address of Prof. Ben Seligman, of the University of Massachusetts.

Seligman tried to get provocative by a pseudo-erudite reference to a famous book about the Constitution published in 1913. He showed that he'd quit reading at that point. The book, by historian Charles Beard, *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States,* gave the professor a chance to sing one of those over-intellectualized hymns of hate.

The Founding Fathers, he said, were a pack of upper-crust swindlers who gave us a property-protecting document "in which the rights of the lower orders of society were not terribly important. The common man did not count."

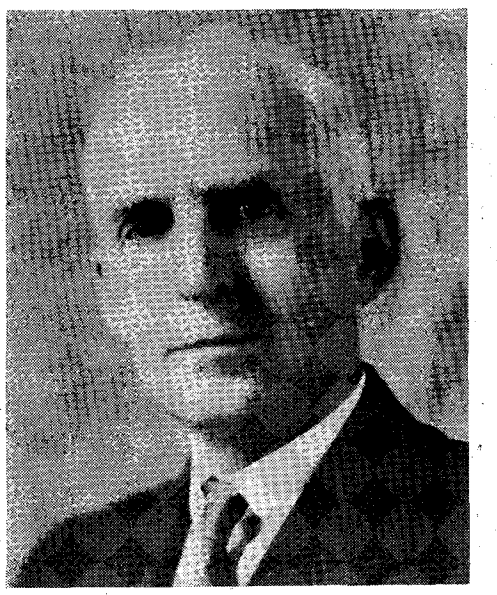
Dr. Seligman tipped his hand when he used Beard's phrase, "an economic interpretation" and sneered that it was "still meaningful." In fact, however, it stopped being meaningful in a derogatory sense soon after publication. Beard immediately objected to the distortion being made of it by Marxists and leftists. Beard lived till 1948 (I knew him well), and in 1961 I had reason to say in a book of my own:

"Beard's volume had a first small printing. But with the Red Revolution of 1917 it commenced to catch on fast. By the time of the Roosevelt New Deal and our recognition of Communist Russia, the Beard book was gospel for the half-educated debunkers of that period. . . . For three decades, in the sunshine of a great career, Beard wrote book after book, article after article, made speech after speech, gave interview after interview, to the effect that the heart of the American Constitution was moral—not economic—although an economic factor is rightly and inevitably present."

Until I find a better phrase for it, I'm going to keep on calling it day-before-yesterday thinking when the likes of Dr. Seligman don't catch up on their studies. It's particularly offensive in this instance because another professor, Robert Brown of Michigan State, did a book in 1961, *Charles Beard and the Constitution,* which was based on 18th Century sources. Brown showed it was "the people" (not just the filthy rich) who desired and certified the Constitution as drawn in 1787.

For example, the young Beard had been shocked to find what he believed to be stringent property restrictions on the suffrage. He'd figured that only 5,091 persons out of a New York state population of 30,000 had a chance to vote for or against adoption of the Constitution. This would mean only one out of six citizens was a qualified voter.

But Beard didn't have the information which Brown uncovered later. A 1790 census revealed that only every fifth or sixth New Yorker was actually a white adult male. That census gives 5,924 "heads of families" in 1790, and over 700 of these were women or freed Negroes, thus non-voters. It works out, if New York was a typical state, that at least 83 of white adult males were eligible to have their say about the Constitution.



Historian Charles Beard later in his life was critical of the misinterpretation given his earlier writings on the Constitution.

The Constitution was not a robber baron's document, as misguided and guilty pedants try to show in order to run down our country. It was planned as a "democratic" way of giving us a "republican" form of government.

Madison explained in the Federalist Papers how the new nation had to be democratic in the towns and farms, but republican at the central government. Madison summed up by saying:

" . . . in a democracy, the people meet and exercise the government in person; in a republic, they meet and administer it by their representatives and agents. A democracy, consequently, will be confined to a small spot. A republic may be extended over a large region."

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Thanks to Prof. Kubek

Truth Finally Catches Up With the Morgenthau Plan

From the Richmond *News Leader*

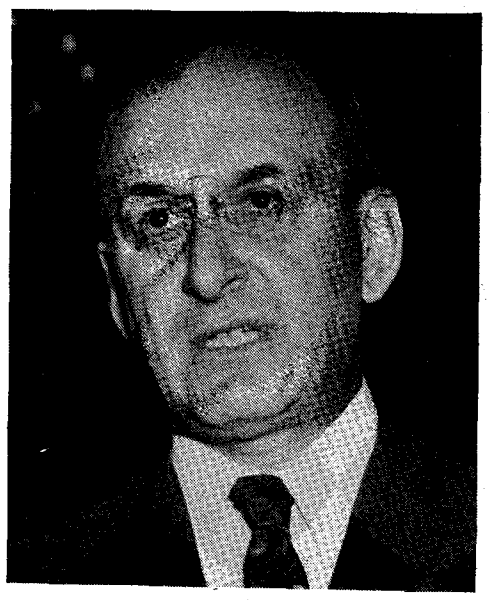
Truth frequently takes its time catching up with history, and such has been the case with the motivations behind the Morgenthau Plan, which would have reduced post-World War II Germany to a cabbage patch and soup kitchen.

Now at last, in a documentary analysis recently released by the Senate Internal Security subcommittee, there is weighty evidence that the plan was the product of a team of Communists and Communist sympathizers led by an active Soviet agent.

This conclusion has been drawn from an exploration of the diaries of Henry Morgenthau Jr., secretary of the treasury from 1934 to 1945, by Dr. Anthony Kubek, professor of history at the University of Dallas. In an analysis accompanying the subcommittee's document, Kubek says the diaries prove that Harry Dexter White was the "actual architect, as well as the master builder" of the Morgenthau Plan. White died in 1948 —an apparent suicide—two days after being named a Communist by a former member of the Communist party. Later, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover said White had been a Russian agent.

How did this fantastic duplicity occur?

"Innocent of higher economics and the mysteries of international finance," Kubek writes, "[Morgenthau] had always leaned heavily on his team of experts for all manner of general and specific recommendations. White was the field captain of that team and, on the German question, he called all the plays. . . ." Other members of the



Henry Morgenthau Jr., FDR's secretary of the treasury from 1932 to 1945, was critical of "Fascists" in the government.

Treasury team included Frank Coe, Harold Glasser, William Ludwig Ullman, Irving Kaplan and Victor Perlo—all of whom have been identified in sworn testimony as Communist conspirators.

The goal of White and his team was to drive a desolate German people into the arms of communism, at the same time removing the threat of a revived Germany to Russia's desired mastery of Europe. White almost brought it off, and he did cause serious damage to Europe's economic recovery.

Secretary of State Cordell Hull and Secretary of War Henry Stimson were outraged by the Morgenthau Plan. As Stimson argued, "A whole nation of 70 million people cannot be reduced to a peasant level. . . ." In a memorandum to President Roosevelt, Stimson called the plan "punitive" and said it would tend, "through bitterness and suffering, to breed another war."

Harry Dexter White, who was the brains behind the "Morgenthau Plan," was a Russian agent, according to FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover.

Morgenthau did his best to sell the plan to FDR and, briefly, he prevailed. At the Quebec conference in September 1944 Morgenthau persuaded both Roosevelt and Winston Churchill to adopt the plan. But a few days later the plan leaked out. Editorial reaction to it was similar to the views of Stimson and Hull. Shortly thereafter, the President confided to Stimson that Morgenthau had "pulled a boner."

Kubek writes that although Roosevelt did not endorse the plan publicly after the Quebec conference, the plan influenced his decisions at the subsequent Yalta conference, and the spirit of the plan survived in the administration of the American zone in Germany for another two years. Moreover, the psychological impact upon Germany probably prolonged the war.

Hitler's propaganda chief, Paul Goebbels, used the Morgenthau Plan extensively as a rallying cry to the Germans to resist to the end. Not until 1947, with the initiation of the Marshall Plan, was the Morgenthau Plan wholly repudiated; only then did American officials comprehend that with Germany condemned to a permanent diet of potatoes, Europe never could be economically strong.

But how close the Communist team in the Treasury came! Through the efforts of White and his team, the United States government helped to advance the Soviet design for domination of postwar Europe.

And in Morgenthau the Communists had a willing sympathizer, who confided to his diary: "We have a good team, they just can't break the team. . . . [Government opponents to the plan] tried to get [FDR] to change and they couldn't. . . . Sooner or later, the President just has to clean his house. I mean the vicious crowd [in the State Department and the War Department]. . . . They are fascists at heart. . . ."

They were not, of course. On the contrary, now that the truth has finally caught up, the American public knows *how much they did* to preserve the West. And how much White and Morgenthau and the team did to destroy it.

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How a Socialist Experiment Failed

From the Chicago *Tribune*

In a Chicago speech, Premier W. Ross Thatcher of Saskatchewan expounded on the evils of the Socialist experiment in his province. He heads the Liberal party, which in 1964 tossed the Socialists out of office after they had been in control of Saskatchewan for 20 years. "We found that there is nothing wrong with socialism except that it doesn't work," he said.

When the Socialists were elected in 1944 they promised to end unemployment, provide jobs by building government-owned factories, give free medical and health service to all citizens, and bring prosperity to the farmer. Over the years they set up 22 so-called crown corporations and waged continuous war on private enterprise. Legislation authorized the government to expropriate and operate any industry or business in the province.

How did it work out? Investors from eastern Canada, the United States and Europe shunned the province. Industry after industry bypassed Saskatchewan and located elsewhere in Canada. Discriminatory legislation forced dozens of oil companies to leave the province, and gas explorations and prospecting halted.

Between 1945 and 1963 more than one million new industrial jobs were created in all of Canada. But in Saskatchewan, after 18 years of socialism, there were fewer manufacturing jobs than had existed in 1945. What Thatcher describes as the greatest mass exodus of a people since Moses led the Jews out of Egypt took place as 270,000 citizens left the province to find employment elsewhere.

By 1964 almost half of the government corporations had gone bankrupt or had been disposed of, and the rest were kept afloat only by repeated and substantial government grants. Their losses were colossal, and in the absence of the profits that were supposed to finance free medical care and hospitalization, the money had to come from tax revenues.

Citizens discovered that government-sponsored Medicare and hospital care are anything but "free." Costs of the hospitalization plan skyrocketed from $7.5 million to $74 million annually. The same pattern is evident in the cost of a medical care program introduced four years ago, which is rising at the rate of 10 per cent annually.

Under socialism the provincial debt went up from $150 million to $600 million. More than 600 new taxes were introduced, and 650 other taxes were increased. In short, socialism in Saskatchewan, according to Thatcher, produced industrial stagnation, retarded development, oppressive taxation and major depopulation.

After his speech Thatcher was asked at a news conference if he detects any evidence of socialism in the United States. He replied he noted certain "symptoms" but declined to be specific. Perhaps he considered that the parallels in excessive government spending, oppressive taxation and welfarism were so obvious as to require no delineation.

Collective Mediocrity?

Chicago's Educational Parks

By RUSSELL KIRK

The city of Chicago has schemes for building six vast educational parks, each providing for 18,000 pupils and costing more than $63 million—each, that is. (Pittsburgh already has commenced construction of such complexes.) The more one hears about these plans for public instruction, the less attractive they sound.

The Chicago design is described by its promoters as cradle-to-grave education. Much of it is more akin to the grave than to the cradle. Chicagoans who had expected to get out of school at the age of 16 or 17 now have the prospect of being taught—compulsorily, eventually?—until they're dead.

Recently a Dr. Donald J. Leu, an educationist from Michigan State University, formally reported to the Chicago Board of Education on plans for the "cultural-educational parks." These complexes, he said, will focus "on innovation, experimentation and evaluation of educational change." He said very little about teaching any intellectual disciplines.

But a quasi-religious zeal animated him: the creed of total educationism. "The total involvement of entire families is a hoped-for outcome," he declared. Total, mind you: they won't have any time left for church or independent family undertakings or plain old fun. This is totalist, or totalitarian, schooling.

This behemoth school system, the mass society carried to an extreme, is supposed to serve as a vast melting pot in which we will be taught that everybody is just like everybody else, and belongs to everybody else—indeed, the system should make certain that few individual differences of mind or heart survive.

The pupils will be, according to Dr. Leu, "large groups of students of wide age difference and varying socio-economic, ethnic and religious backgrounds on one or more interrelated sites." Just one big happy tapioca pudding of a cultural complex, you understand.

True, primary and some intermediate grades will not be totally incorporated into the educational parks. There may remain "magnet schools" for younger pupils—2,400 to 3,000 of these in a school. This latter plan for small children is supposed to provide a more humane scale. Brave New World, how fast you approach!

From Brooklyn to Berkeley, it has become virtually impossible to control the student masses at overgrown colleges; resentful of the mass-society, students form themselves into anarchic mobs. So imagine the confusion, impersonality and animosities which will arise in these educational parks where the students are less mature and are kept there by truancy laws.

What our age urgently requires is attempts to repersonalize urban society, not to depersonalize it further. We need restored community, not enforced collectivism—in our neighborhoods, in our work and in our schools. But the positivistic educational planners now capturing Chicago are bent upon collective mediocrity—and will end, if not checked, with an ungovernable school and an unteachable mob.

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Although Michigan Gov. George Romney's presidential hopes are on the wane, the constitutional status of a "natural-born citizen" ought to be settled once and for all.

Is Romney Really Eligible?

Dispute over meaning of 'natural born'

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

The question may be getting wholly academic, for it now appears that Gov. George Romney, as a presidential candidate, has fallen off his horse before he gets to the gate, but just for the plain mischievous hell of it, the question ought to be pursued: is the governor eligible for this race at all?

It is not a question, you understand, that the Hon. George is likely to pursue himself. The old Rambler has nothing much to gain from launching a test case; he has his whole venture to lose. If he runs into some strict constructionist on the bench, a ruling could well come down that the governor is not a "natural-born citizen" within the meaning of the U.S. Constitution, Article II, Section 1, clause 5, and hence is barred from the White House. Sorry about that; but back to Lansing.

Such is the great American lust for litigation that Romney would be well served if the question were presented promptly, in New Hampshire, before the presidential sweepstakes are really off and running. Somewhere, sometime, some dubious election official is almost bound to go to court on the eligibility question. The sooner the point is decided, the better. Romney is a frugal fellow, and it just might save him a mint of money.

The question arises, as a mildly interested public is becoming aware, from a curious qualification that the Founding Fathers inserted in the Constitution back in 1787. The framers provided that any "citizen of the United States" could run for the House or Senate, but they were more particular about who could be President. "No person," they provided, "except a natural-born citizen. . . shall be eligible to the Office of President."

What is meant by "natural-born citizen"? No court ever has passed on the question. Manifestly, the phrase means something more than "citizen," but how much more? So far as Gov. Romney is concerned able lawyers are in utter disagreement.

The facts, at least, are not in dispute. Romney's grandfather, Miles Park Romney, born in England in 1843, came to the Territory of Utah as a child of seven in 1850. He grew up in the Mormon faith, adopted the practice of polygamy, and took four wives. In 1883, when the Supreme Court upheld a statute banning polygamy, Miles Park Romney fled to a Mormon colony in Mexico. In 1887, or thereabouts, his 18-year-old son Gaskell Romney came from Utah to join the family in Chihuahua.

Gaskell remained in Mexico and married a Mormon girl in 1895. Their fourth child, George Wilcken Romney, governor of Michigan, presidential aspirant, was born to them in Mexico in 1907. Five years later, in flight from guerrilla forces, the family escaped to El Paso and ultimately settled down in Utah.

All right. As a matter of law, the first question goes to Gaskell Romney's U.S. citizenship. Did he voluntarily expatriate himself when he went to Mexico in 1887? He became 21 in 1890. What was his status then? At the time George was born, in 1907, his father had been absent from the United States for 20 years. If Gaskell Romney had voluntarily surrendered his citizenship by expatriation, George Romney never became a U.S. citizen at all, by birth or otherwise.

But assuming that Gaskell Romney had retained his U.S. citizenship throughout his 25 years in Mexico, was son George—in the eyes of the Constitution—a "natural-born citizen"? In the view of several legal scholars, he was not. As they interpret the phrase, "natural-born" means "native-born," that is, born on a country's soil. If they are correct in their interpretation George Romney is not eligible for the office of President and ought to be kept off the ballot.

It is only fair to emphasize, again, that other legal scholars flatly disagree. They are convinced that George has been a natural-born U.S. citizen from birth.

All this may sound like tendentious genealogy, of interest solely to little old ladies who fill in charts. It is more than that. The constitutional requirement may be obscure, but there it is. If Romney tries to ride around it, some judge in time will order him back on course. This jump has to be taken cleanly before the race is done.

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THE U.S. ARCHIVIST reports that federal records now take up 25 million cubic feet of storage space. But never fear. The government has launched 55 paperwork surveys to study the problem. And the Department of Health, Education and Welfare has released a six-page press release on how it is going to cut down on paperwork.

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Confidential Secret Service Report Highlights Growing Security Problem

From the Allen-Scott Report

A confidential Secret Service report being studied by Vice President Humphrey throws new light on the growing security problem he now faces in traveling throughout the United States.

It reveals that four persons who tried to force their way into a New York ballroom where Humphrey was to speak recently had been on the "dangerous persons" list of the Secret Service for more than a year.

One of the four militant agitators, all of whom had to be forcibly restrained, had been arrested earlier during a violent demonstration against President Johnson. All the individuals are either members of the Communist party or the Red-controlled W.E.B. DuBois Clubs.

The list of dangerous persons, which now runs into the thousands, contains the names of individuals who the Secret Service and FBI believe could cause harm to the President or vice president.

Under security plans adopted after the assassination of President Kennedy, those on the list are kept under observation by local or federal authorities whenever either President Johnson or Vice President Humphrey appears in areas where these individuals reside.

The Secret Service report, prepared to show "the growing involvement of Communists against the vice president" gave the following account of the New York incident:

"At 8 p.m., approximately 30 minutes prior to the vice president's arrival at the dinner, four members of the W.E.B. DuBois Club were arrested inside the hotel at a checkpoint which enters the ballroom where the vice president was due to speak.

"After slipping past a police guard in the hotel lobby, they attempted to force their way into the ballroom, but were repelled by special agents assigned to guard the vice president. Uniformed members of the New York Police Department assisted in restraining and arresting these individuals.

"The four became abusive, disorderly and insisted on trying to enter the ballroom and they had to be forcibly restrained. An agent was bitten on the finger, which required medical attention."

An extensive investigation into the background of the four agitators, according to the Secret Service report, revealed the following:

"The four members are of record with our Intelligence Division as being members of the Communist party and the DuBois Clubs. All are on the 'dangerous persons' list.

"No. 1. . .New York City. He has been of record with the Intelligence Division since 1966 as a member of the DuBois Clubs and attended the 18th national convention of the Communist party. He was arrested for disorderly conduct on Oct. 12, 1966, during the demonstrations at President Johnson's speech in Brooklyn, N.Y. He was charged with criminal trespass.

"No. 2. . .New York. This individual was the leader of the four arrested and he has been of record with the Intelligence Division since 1965 and a member of the Communist party and DuBois Club. He is presently employed by the New York district of the Communist party as an organizer of DuBois Clubs. He is a very active Communist and has several arrests for participation in violent demonstrations. Charge was criminal trespass.

Vice President Hubert Humphrey, like many other public figures, is facing growing dangers from ultra-liberal hotheads who might cause bodily harm.

"No. 3. . .Detroit. This person has been on the 'dangerous persons' list since 1966. He has been a member of the DuBois Clubs since attending high school. Attended Communist party youth schools where he was instructed in the use of firearms. He has arrests in Detroit and New York for anti-war demonstrations. Charge was criminal trespass.

"No. 4. . .New York. This subject has been of record in the Intelligence Division since 1965. His parents are former Communist party members. He has attended secret meetings of the national committee of the DuBois Clubs. Charge was criminal trespass."

These and other Secret Service findings concerning agitators involved in protest against the vice president have caused the Secret Service to increase the number of agents protecting him.

As in the case of President Johnson, Humphrey's route of travel and schedule are never given out till the last minute in order to avoid having this information fall into the hands of demonstrators.

"When the vice president travels around the country," an aide of Humphrey's says, "he is now better protected than any previous President or vice president. Only President Johnson receives more protection."

Other reasons behind the increased protection for Humphrey are the disturbing reports from several police departments that black militants in their cities have drawn up lists of local and federal officials "to be executed in 1968."

Most of these reports were not taken seriously until police in New Haven, Conn., assisted by Treasury agents, seized five persons last month and charged them with conspiring to blow up "an important public building."

At the time of the arrests New Haven police found a list of local and federal authorities marked for execution. The list has been turned over to the FBI and the Secret Service because of the persons involved. Large amounts of explosives and machine guns were also discovered in a room occupied by one of the persons arrested.

★ ★ ★

Fidel Castro, according to intelligence sources, is transferring large sums of money to numbered bank accounts in Switzerland, to be used by black militant groups in the United States to buy weapons. The transfer agent is a shipping company that links Cuba with Canada. Deposits go from Havana to Canada, then to a Swiss bank, where two black militants can withdraw the money as needed.

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You Must Be Kidding, Betty Dear

By ALICE WIDENER

Miss Betty Furness
Special Assistant to the President
Consumer Affairs
The White House
Washington, D.C.

My dear Niece:

Your Uncle Sam and I were so happy to see such a nice picture of you in the papers after you scolded the American Marketing Association for not forcing the manufacturers of all our household appliances and gadgets to tell us just how long a life new-fangled thingumabobs will have or should have or can have.

Now, honey, you know your Uncle Sam and I have a soft spot for you in our hearts but we think maybe since you left the TV commercials and came down here to our Nation's Capital you have gone just a wee bit soft in your pretty lil' head.

How on earth can GE and RCA and Westinghouse, to say nothing of Xerox, IBM and GM, tell your Uncle and me and all our 200 million nephews and nieces just how long a life the toaster or hair dryer or typewriter or electric shaver will have?

If all of us 200 million were exactly alike and handled things in exactly the same way, day in, day out, month in, month out, perhaps the manufacturers could make some fairly accurate predictions. But, Betty honey, you know no two members of one single family do things alike.

Take our house, for example. Some days your Uncle Sam wakes up in the morning so spry he's rarin' to go. When the toast begins to look golden he can't wait for it to pop out. Bang! He whacks the toaster and snatches out the slices. When I go to make mine a nice dark brown, the timer is out of kilter and the slices pop up snow white. I got so mad last week, I banged the toaster myself and now it's dead—lifetime warranty notwithstanding.

When my electric typewriter went on the blink some time ago, I sent for that handsome young IBM serviceman. "Ma'am, he said, "I just don't seem to be able to find out what's wrong." He fiddled with it for a while, dug down deep into its insides, then reached in his tool kit for a pair of forceps. "How d'you manage to get these inside this machine?" he said, pulling out four little pieces of rubber.

Betty Furness, special presidential assistant for consumer affairs, makes a point during recent House Consumer Affairs subcommittee hearings.

"Ma'am, these are the pads the machine is supposed to rest on."

Today your Uncle Sam said he's going to sue Swingline. Trying to pin together a batch of tax forms, he used the new Tiny Tot I gave him for Christmas. He stapled his thumb and had to take it to the doctor.

Concerning the lifetime steam iron he gave me from Santa Claus—warranty and all—the least said the better. After I'd filled it with distilled water and turned on the switch, just like the directions said, your Aunt Bessie phoned from Kalamazoo to wish us a happy New Year and we got to recollectin' Tin Lizzie and nickelodeon days and—well, good thing we keep a fire extinguisher handy.

If the manufacturers try to put a life expectancy prediction on the things they make, the court calenders will be so jammed with consumers' lawsuits that there won't be time for judges to read the big print, much less the fine.

Take your Uncle Sam's and my advice, Betty dear. Go back to selling refrigerators and put consumer's protection permanently on ice. The American shopper is a lot more savvy than you might think.

Your ever loving,
Aunt Sam

(U.S.A. Syndicate)

Continued from Page 8

Communism in Liberal Raiment

toward the Viet Nam war by the Senate Foreign Relations chairman, William Fulbright, in these terms: "The trait that has made him a storm center is not hard to define. Put simply, it is an emotional and intellectual reluctance to believe that communism is a monolithic doctrine of belligerence based on a fanatical dream of world domination."

Here, then, is the task involved in re-uniting America against a foe that challenges us around the world and has infiltrated the nation at home with a heterogeneous array of dissidents cleverly manipulated by the master propagandists of all time.

Our people will not understand it unless they are brought to recognize that the present Cold-Hot War is a deadly competition between two irreconcilable systems, not one of the growth of two great powers and their allies. Intelligent Americans have to be convinced that communism is not just another brand of politics, but rather a giant world conspiracy by dedicated proselyters.

Viet Nam is the point at which our ideology of republican government confronts that of Marx and Lenin and Mao Tse-Tung. We do not have a choice between war and peace. That decision has been made for us by developing events.

A statement of the "New Program of the Communist Party, U.S.A." promulgated by the party leaders in 1966 blueprints the Communist strategy in a way that can hardly be misread. After avowing the belief that "the Socialist reconstruction of society" in the United States can be effected by "constitutional process" and "democratic means," the official party statement adds a small condition to that peaceful democratic change. "One obligatory constitutional amendment in a Socialist transformation would abolish the capitalist form of property."

Here we have an echo of the bargaining method of Ho Chi Minh when he arrogantly announced that he would negotiate peace terms only if as a preliminary to the conference the United States and its allies would first withdraw their armed forces from Viet Nam. That is like a card player saying, "Discard your aces and kings and I'll bet with you."

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Can Government 'Fine Tuning' Really Work?

By HENRY HAZLITT

In a recent speech, Gilbert W. Fitzhugh, chairman of the board of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., neatly stuck a pin in the pretensions of "the new breed" of economists.

"I shall risk ostracism," he said, "by questioning the basic premises of the thesis that government planners can fine-tune the economy to such an extent as to assure steady growth in employment and productivity . . . while at the same time maintaining a sound dollar. These premises seem to be:

"1. Economists now have sufficiently accurate information to predict whether the government should be pursuing expansionary or restraining policies;

"2. This information is available in time to be of practical use;

"3. The fallible human beings who make the decisions for the government based on these data will make the right decision based on economics rather than politics, and

"4. That these decisions will be made promptly at the right time.

"Does recent history give us confidence that any of these four premises, much less all of them, will be met in this practical world of ours? On the contrary, is there not some reason to feel that government actions in recent years have been more unstabilizing than stabilizing?"

Fitzhugh's doubts are not only justified, but understated.

One of the premises of the "new economists" is that the government bureaucrats in charge of "keeping the economy on an even keel" are not only capable of forecasting future business conditions (or forecasting what they would be in the absence of timely governmental intervention), but are capable of forecasting them consistently better than private business. In fact, a chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers once informed me that without him the American economy would be "flying blind."

Arthur Okun, only 39, has succeeded Gardner Ackley as chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers.

One of the elementary facts that the would-be economic fine-tuners overlook is that most of the chief statistics on which they rely are not known until a month or two after the conditions they record. Even the latest statistics, in other words, only tell us what past conditions were, not what present conditions are, much less what they will be. And when some major economic event occurs, like the devaluation of the British pound by 14 per cent, our government economists, like the rest of us, don't know about it until after it happens.

The only way government bureaucrats know of keeping a prosperity going is to inflate some more—to increase the deficit or to pump more money into the system.

They proudly claim credit for a good result. But when the inflation begins to get out of hand, when the deficit in the balance of payments mounts, when the integrity of the dollar is threatened, they disclaim all responsibility. They explain that it is politically impossible to cut back government spending and would precipitate a crisis to stop expanding the supply of paper money. The only remedy they suggest is to raise taxes still further to pay for their own past extravagances.

They denounce the banks for raising interest rates. They denounce business for raising prices and for investing abroad. In brief, they denounce private enterprise for the consequences of their own reckless policies and demand still more governmental controls.

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LAID ON THE LINE—Blunt-talking Paul Hall, head of the Seafarers International Union, laid it on the line during a talk to the recent AFL-CIO convention in Miami Beach: "If the senator from Arkansas [Fulbright] would just do 10 per cent for the Arkansas Negro as he has said or bled for the Viet Cong, not only would Arkansas be a hell of a lot better state, but this would be a better country."

□ □ □

GOOD QUESTION—"The 100th anniversary of completion of the first transcontinental railroad in the United States will be celebrated in 1969 and there are those who are wondering whether the famous golden spike will be in this country or France by that time."—By Rep. H. R. Gross (R.-Iowa)

□ □ □

$207 BILLION IN TAXES—Ten years ago the American people paid $100 million a year in federal, state and local taxes. Today, that figure has climbed to $207 billion—nearly one-third of the Gross National Product. Cost to each U.S. family—$3,385, up more than $1,400 in a decade.

When Rome Went Soft

By JENKIN LLOYD JONES

The year 1968 marks the 2,000th anniversary of the beginning of the end of history's hottest love affair.

In 33 BC (there was no zero year) at Cleopatra's insistence Mark Antony began mobilizing his forces for a climactic struggle with his ex-brother-in-law, Octavian, soon to be known as the Emperor Augustus.

If you like fouled-up family situations, this was a dilly. Fifteen years before, Julius Caesar had arrived in Egypt chasing Pompey. The 51-year-old Julius fell head over heels in love with the 21-year-old Cleo. He set her firmly on the shaky throne of the unbelievably corrupt and degenerate Ptolemies. He also fathered her son.

Caesar was murdered in 44 BC. Three years later Mark Antony, then carving out the Eastern Empire, arrogantly summoned Cleopatra to Tarsus. She came, perfume, jewels and all.

They claim she wasn't really a patch on Theda Bara or Claudette Colbert or Elizabeth Taylor. Some contemporaries say she was even a little ugly. But she was an authentic sexpot of Greek and Macedonian blood with a dash of Persian. She was also smart. Mark went overboard.

They had twins. And then Antony made the grandfather of blunders. He put aside his Roman wife, Octavia, and married Cleo. For a wedding present he gave her Judea, Arabia, Phoenicia, Cilicia, Crete and Cyprus.

The trouble was that poor Octavia was the sister of Octavian, who, in turn, was the grandnephew of Caesar and his legal heir. As such he had inherited the fierce loyalty of Caesar's personal legions. The ruling triumvirate of Octavian, Antony and Lepidus (poor Lepidus—another Bulganin) exploded with a bang, and the Roman world took sides.

Maybe by 33 BC the 36-year-old Cleo was bathing more often in mare's milk and patting her wrinkles with increased attention. But it should have been a happy year for the two. They glided up and down the Nile in unbelievable splendor. And Antony began assembling his ships and soldiers for the showdown.

Two years later, at the Battle of Actium, the lovers broke their 500 war galleys against Octavian's 400. Cleopatra, characteristically, was sitting on the treasure ship, and when Antony signaled that all was lost, the two ships fled to Egypt. It was the richest bug-out in history.

They cowered for a year, awaiting the final blow. On the day when Octavian swarmed over Alexandria, Antony in his battle harness heard that Cleopatra had killed herself and he fell upon his sword. It was a bum tip, for Cleo was still alive. It might have also provided the plot for *Romeo and Juliet*.

When Cleo got the word, she knew her world was ended. But she wasn't yet off-stage. With a fine sense of drama she had herself bitten by an asp. In ancient Egyptian belief the snake is the minister for Amon Ra, the Sun God. Thus, the Greek interloper left the earth proclaiming herself a spiritual sister to the Pharaohs.

But the point of all this rehash is this:

Twenty centuries ago the Romans lost faith in themselves. The Roman Republic, which Caesar killed, was by no means a democracy, but at least it had a broad base of participation among free Roman citizens. It was also, like all republics, subject to demagoguery, log-rolling and confusion.

Julius Caesar brought order and authority. He also brought fear into the heart of honest republicans, like Brutus, who sensed what was coming. After Caesar's death the attempt at three-man government died almost immediately. For 500 years, from Augustus to the accession of the first Germanic king, Rome was ruled by military dictatorships.

The Roman citizen relinquished his powers easily. The bigger Rome got, the smaller he became. The empire was complicated. It was hard for individuals to know just what the situation was in Bactria or Britain. It was easier to leave the tough decisions up to the palace.

Besides, the mob loved the imperial pageantry, the great triumphs featuring chained kings, the scattered gold and the free wine. It didn't dawn on many Romans that the financial burden of the huge bureaucracy was being met largely in loot and that when the loot stopped the tax-gatherers would grow tough.

In bread and circuses Romans gradually lost their fiber. At a glacial pace the huge empire proved that big unwisdom is more devastating than little unwisdom.

Self-reliant Romans, suspicious of the pageants, sensitive to waste and determined not to loot the treasury for their temporary benefit, might have postponed or even canceled the collapse that shook the world.

The Roman backbone began to soften about 2,000 years ago.

People have learned a lot in 2,000 years.

They can forget a lot, too.

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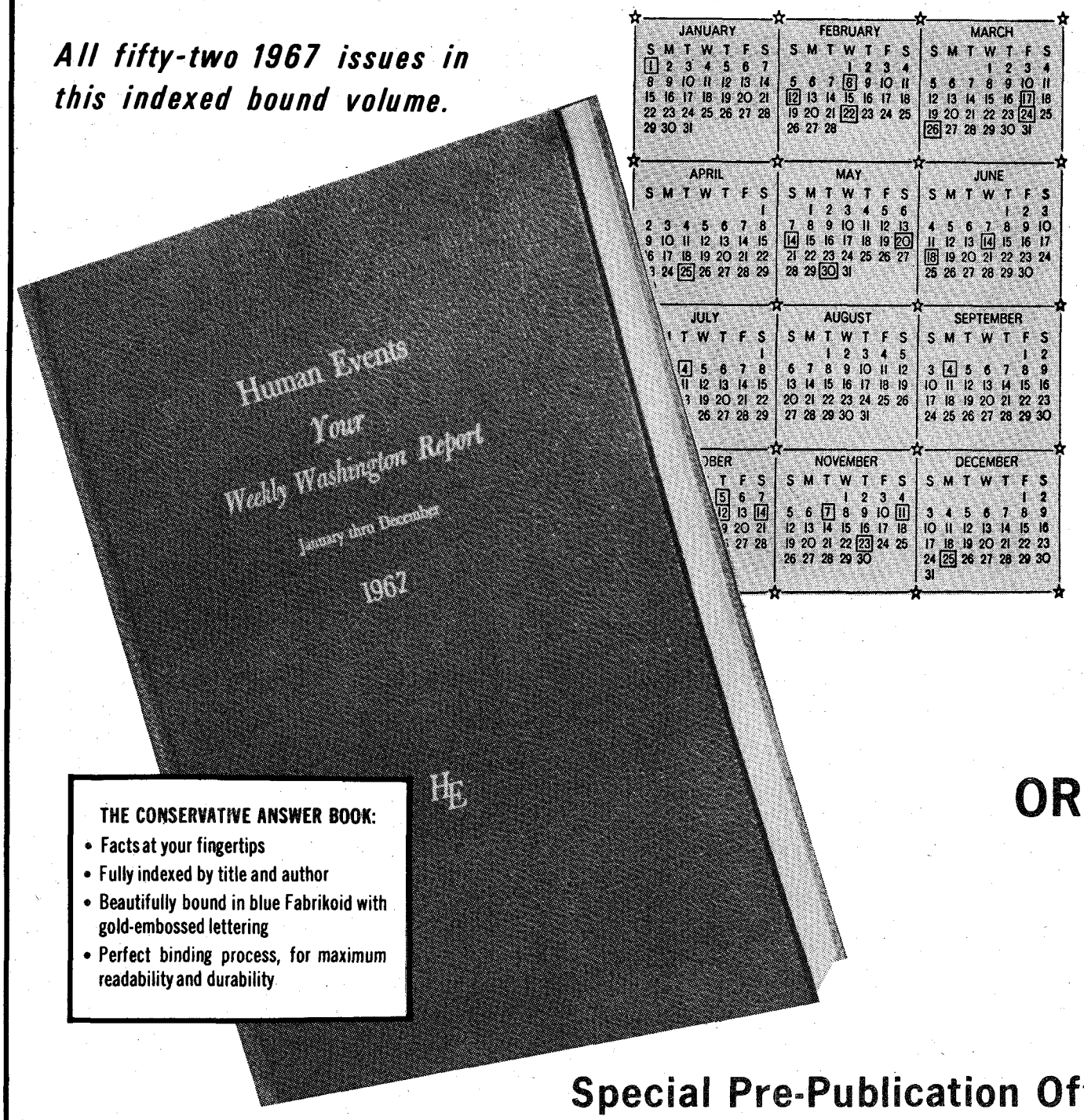

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